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The final technical report summarizes the development, operations, and effectiveness of Project Concern, Hartford's program of suburban school placement for inner-city children. This approach to educational improvement through busing disadvantaged students to neighboring towns was funded in part by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title III. Included is information on selection of the ghetto pupils, their academic and social adjustment in the suburban schools, and the effects of the project on the suburban students, parents and schools. Also discussed are those children and families who dropped out of the project, and the operational characteristics of the program. (NH)

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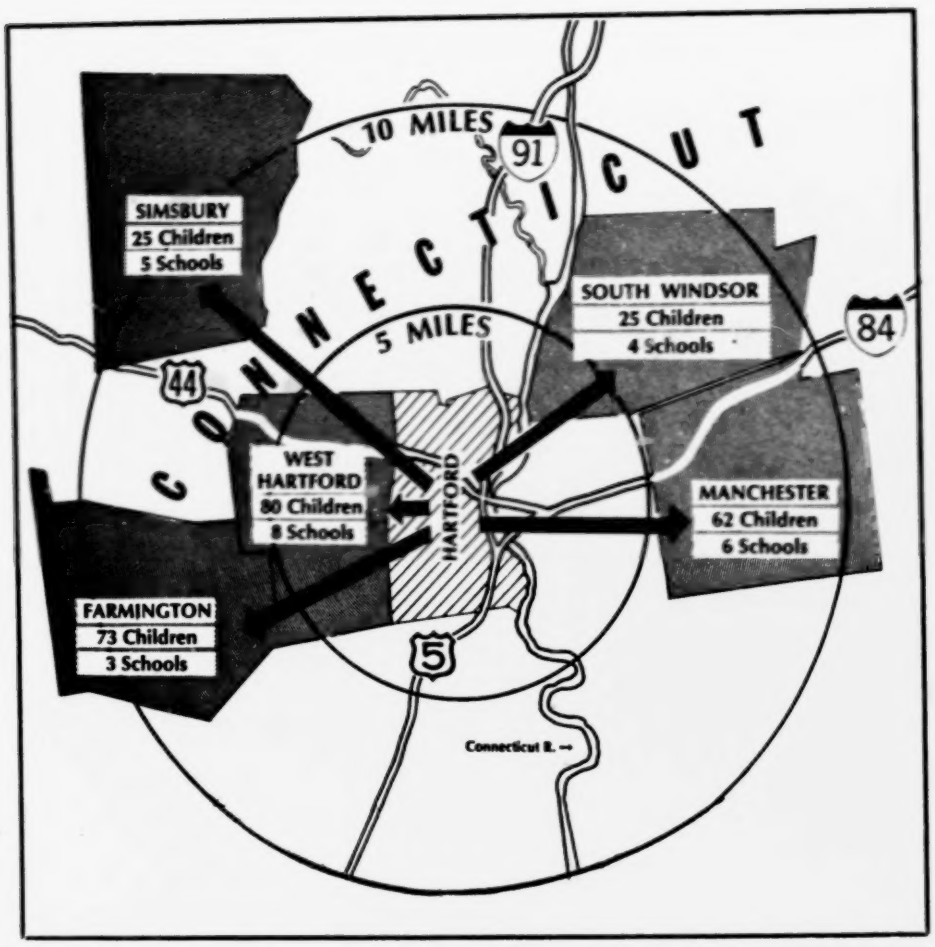
PROJECT CONCERN

A TWO YEAR REPORT

HARTFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS
249 HIGH STREET
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 06103

AUGUST 1968



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PROJECT CONCERN — 1966-1968

A Report on The Effectiveness of
Suburban School Placement for Inner-City Youth

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HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

AUGUST, 1968

Final Technical Report of an Experimental Project
supported in part by the following special grants:
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A TRIBUTE

The story of Project Concern is a story of faith in an idea and of human good will in putting that idea to the test. The success of the project, as evidenced by the results reported herein, and by its enrollment growth and its expansion to other communities, is a tribute to the many agencies and individuals who provided the initial impetus and support. The State Department of Education, the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, the Urban League, the Greater Hartford Council of Churches, the N.A.A.C.P., the news media, and many other groups are deserving of praise for their contributions.

My special tribute, however, goes to those most directly involved, the parents and children of Hartford who have been whole-hearted participants in the project, and the parents, teachers and children in the cooperating towns who have been so generous and so warm in their reception of the Project Concern youngsters.

Medill Bair

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is impossible to express even to a small degree the tremendous debt which the writer must acknowledge as he tries to re-create the history and results of Project Concern. Foremost, of course, is the debt to the parents and children who had the "courage to dream." It is incorrect to say that Project Concern was created for them; it is more correct to say that they, in marvelous ways, created Project Concern. The faith of the parents in their children, the willingness of the parents to make sacrifices and take risks, was matched only by the lively, vigorous, zestful response of the children themselves to the program. In similar fashion the strength and courage of suburban boards of education and school administrators will never be adequately recognized nor will the efforts of the suburban teachers. So too with the Hartford administrators and teachers who were willing to say that perhaps there is a better way, a more effective vehicle. To all of these people the writer expresses a profound sense of appreciation.

To his staff in the daily operation of Project Concern he can never express his gratitude and his recognition of their deep concern about each child. Particularly to Mrs. Linda F. Snyder who frequently absorbed pressures and problems for him does he utter a public "thank you" for many kindnesses — some of which are no doubt still hidden in her memory. Also, to the Consultants who supported him in difficult times and who brought some semblance of order out of the mass of data does he express a feeling of sincere appreciation. Both John H. Noble and Dr. David V. Tiedeman gave of their time and talents without stint and this Report could not be without them. At the same time, it is important to underline that the writer takes full responsibility for the contents of the Report.

The Advisory Board was another group which contributed greatly to the operation of the program. As a group and as individuals they provided the guidance, support and, when appropriate, the pressure needed to keep the Director in line. To a lesser degree, yet in a similar fashion, the various boards of education did the same. The number of civic, religious and service groups that made known their support and actively assisted in program development is too numerous to list.

Yet there are a few names that demand special notice. First among these is Aline M. Brennan who willingly and competently took over the responsibility for the data collection in 1967-68, creating a high level of competence from what had been a mediocre job. Even more important, however, has been the personal communication of belief and support which she has given when days were dark and her faith is reflected in each page of this Report.

Dan and Nurit Shnit, Volunteers to America from Israel, placed with Project Concern by the U. S. Department of State, played a major role in the organization of the data collection and analysis. Their contribution goes far beyond what should be expected and much of Chapters VI and VII are the direct results of their efforts.

To the writer's two children, Maureen and Brendan, a special note of thanks is appropriate. They taught him about both the courage and the frailty of the human spirit; they made clear the human person's capacity for zestful confrontation with the world so long as there is hope and support and belief. In a way these have been the central focus of the Project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
A TRIBUTE	1
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
LIST OF TABLES	4
LIST OF PERSONNEL	5
LIST OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS	5
INTRODUCTION	6
Chapter	
1. FROM DREAM TO REALITY	7
2. THE SEARCH FOR HOPE	11
3. THE CHILDREN: WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY SAY	17
4. AFTER TWO YEARS — ACADEMIC FACTORS	20
5. AFTER TWO YEARS — NON-ACADEMIC FACTORS	26
6. THE SUBURBS — TWO YEARS LATER	30
7. A LOOK AT THE DROPOUTS	39
8. OPERATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS	46
9. SUMMARY	48
10. THE COURAGE TO DREAM — A PERSONAL POSTSCRIPT	50
APPENDIXES	52

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Initial IQ by Grade and Treatment	17
2.	Disposition of Original Sample	21
3.	Available Number by Grade and Treatment	21
4.	Percentage of Subjects by Grade Tested in Each Treatment Group (WISC)	22
5.	IQ Changes by Grade and Control Group	23
6.	Percentage of Days Absent	28
7.	Mean Scores on Anxiety Measures	29
8.	How Well Informed are Suburban Parents About Project Concern	31
9.	How Well Informed — Experimental vs. Control	31
10.	General Reaction Toward Project Concern	32
11.	Suburban Youngsters Mentioning Hartford Youngsters in Their Homes	33
12.	Suburban Youngsters' Comments on Project Concern Youngsters	33
13.	Met Hartford Youngsters	34
14.	Approval of Close Relations	34
15.	Attitude Toward Continuation	35
16.	Information About Occupation — Continuation of Project Concern	36
17.	Number of Children Related to Views on Continuation	37
18.	Children's Liking School in Suburb Related to Cause for Leaving	40
19.	Children's Liking School in Suburb (Parents' Answers)	41
20.	Children Want to Return to Suburban School	41
21.	Parents Want Their Children to Return	41
22.	Parents Want Their Other Children to Join the Bussing Program	42
23.	Parent-Child Agreement About Wanting to Return	42
24.	Feeling of Children About Classmates' Attitude	43
25.	Children's Attitude Toward Teachers	43
26.	Where Children Reported Learning More	44
27.	Where Parents Felt Children Learned More	44
28.	Parents' General Attitude Toward Project Concern	44
29.	How Children Felt They Were Treated by Siblings	45

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INTRODUCTION

Needless to say, the Negroes finally went downstairs to put on their wings and make-up. All but Logan. He went downstairs to drag the cast out by force, to make men of darkies, to carry through the strike. But he couldn't. Not alone. Nobody really wanted to strike. Nobody wanted to sacrifice anything for race pride, decency, or elementary human rights.

LANGSTON HUGHES

This Report is intended to communicate in skeletal fashion what has happened in two exciting years in the Hartford area. In no way does it succeed nor could it. The struggle to express the human condition and its fluctuations by way of quantitative data is doomed to failure. At the same time, these data do, in some fashion, reflect the personal experience of hundreds of families in Hartford's "ghetto" area and the reciprocal experience of hundreds of suburban teachers in the towns that ring Hartford. Hopefully, this Report can capture some of the vitality, some of the hope, some of the intensity which has surrounded Project Concern since its inception. To those of us who have been plunged into the midst of it, it has been an exciting, frustrating, rewarding two years. The great joy of these years is more clearly expressed through case studies than in the fashion used here, but this objective, quantitative approach may well say more about what has happened than can any other technique.

First, however, the tremendous support of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities in Hartford for Project Concern must be mentioned. Two years ago when the program was only a plan there were many in the "ghetto" area who expressed doubt that it would ever come to be. When the suburban towns voted to participate, the response of the minority group parents to the opportunity was ambivalent: on the one hand they wanted to obtain for their children every possible advantage; on the other hand they had many apprehensions as expressed in one mother's comment "do they really want us?" Yet 96% of those given the option selected it. Since that time the support of the community groups has been loud and constant. They have pressured for expansion, have expressed without hesitance their willingness to help, and the organizations in the "ghetto" area have spoken out in clear favorable terms. Project Concern is a symbol of their hope for their children and this document attempts to chronicle the basis for that hope.

In any event, the present Report focuses around efforts to measure change and/or response. It is a global effort intended to communicate the general flavor and it will be followed within two to three months by a more technical analysis which will delve more deeply into the findings reported here in an effort to answer not only "what happened" but also "why it happened." The data contained here are, for the most part, restricted to what happened.

Hopefully, most of what follows is self-explanatory. However, one note of information is needed. Throughout the Report students are classified in terms of grade by the original (i.e., Fall, 1966) grade placement. Thus, reference to kindergarten in the Report is a reference to youngsters who were assigned to kindergarten in Fall, 1966, and at the time of the Report (Summer, 1968) have completed grade 1; in similar fashion, reference to grade 5 is to those youngsters who, at this writing, have completed grade 6.

Chapter 1

FROM DREAM TO REALITY

"There may be intelligences or sparks of the divinity in millions — but they are not souls until they acquire identities, till each one is personally itself."

KEATS

Project Concern is a quest for an answer to the question that sears the consciences of American educators: How is it possible to provide equal educational opportunity for youngsters who live in the deteriorating inner city area. This is a problem which came upon Hartford, Connecticut, suddenly. A city of 162,000 people, it suddenly discovered that from 1960 through 1966 its non-white school population had doubled and was edging nervously over the 56% mark. It also discovered that those same phenomena that had been reported in so many other communities were now blatantly apparent in Hartford: achievement and mental ability scores were declining in the non-white schools; there was a clear trend toward a *de facto* dual school system with some schools all white and others all black; there were clear signs of increasing social problems such as higher drop-out rates, increased unemployment, rising rates of family disintegration, and dependence on welfare payment. The acceleration of these trends in the Insurance City of America was such that by 1966 half of the school districts in the City of Hartford could be officially designated as disadvantaged. Hartford, in spite of some monumental efforts toward urban renewal, had become a city with all the symptoms that are contained in the phrase "the urban crisis". The symptom which this report tries to study carefully and to suggest some techniques for alleviating is the lack of educational development of youngsters who normally attend inner city schools under segregated conditions. It is a study of an experimental intervention to provide equal educational opportunity for these youth and to determine whether this intervention does indeed result in more effective stimulation toward growth.

In a sense, Project Concern faces squarely two sets of data: first, there is the evidence that disadvantaged youngsters in inner city schools fail to respond effectively to their school environment; secondly, and perhaps most important, there is the accumulating evidence that efforts to correct this situation by way of smaller classes, better teachers, new curricula, special service personnel, and new physical facilities (or a combination of any or all of these) have generally been disappointing. Hartford itself had, and continues, to embark on a number of such compensatory educational programs. The experience has been one of small gain accompanied by large disappointments. The easy answers have not seemed to work in Hartford as they appear not to have worked in other cities. The alternative to the compensatory education route is a simple one: Integration. But for Hartford the recognition of this fact came too late. Integration with the school population already 56% non-white ran the risk of intensifying the flight of the middle class white family from the city. While Hartford was grappling with this problem, it was also confronted with another. Many of the physical facilities of the Board of Education had become outdated, and it was clear that a program of physical renewal of plant was essential. A combination of these two problems resulted in Hartford taking a new look at itself in terms of its educational program.

In such a setting unanimity of position among those who were responsible for making decision would be extremely unlikely. It was not found in Hartford either. As a result, the Hartford Board of Education and the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford with the support of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce contracted with the Harvard Graduate School of Education to come to Hartford, to study its problems, and to suggest an overall plan for future development. A team from Harvard, headed by the late Dr. Vincent Conroy, did just that and presented to the Hartford authorities what has come to be known as the "Harvard Report". This report made a number of suggestions, but among them was one which caused some disbelief when it was first read: That Hartford could no longer solve its educational problems by itself, but that it had to look toward metropolitan cooperation if quality education was to be provided to all Hartford youth. In fact, the report suggested that Hartford consider placing two of its non-white youngsters in each of the suburban classrooms in the greater Hartford area. The initial reaction was fast and negative.

Yet, not much later an extensive, continuing seminar sponsored jointly by the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce and the Aetna Life and Casualty Company, gathered together the business, industrial, civic, and political leaders of the greater Hartford area to discuss common problems and solutions. This meeting, called the Town Meeting of Tomorrow, again raised the shadow of the Harvard Report and there were signs now of a quiet "maybe" rather than a resounding "no". From this Town Meeting of Tomorrow there began to evolve a plan of action that would incorporate some of the suggestions of the Harvard Report. The threads of this development are sometimes confusing and difficult to follow. Nonetheless, in general outline, it would appear that the joint forces of the Hartford Public Schools, Connecticut State Department of Education, and the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce were strong and dominant.

These facts, at least, are clear. The Connecticut State Department of Education, under the leadership of Dr. William Sanders, Commissioner, and through the direct action of Dr. Alexander J. Plante, Executive Director of the Office of Program Development of the Department, agreed to sponsor a proposal for an experimental program of urban-suburban cooperation in the provision of equal educational opportunity for inner city youth. The Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, acting through its Education Committee and its Board of Directors, strongly endorsed the concept. The Hartford Board of Education, through the actions of then Acting Superintendent Robert M. Kelly, made clear its willingness to cooperate with the suburban communities in the area.

After thought and study, it was decided that the goals of this experimental program, later to be known as Project Concern, would be the placement of 300 youngsters, in grades kindergarten through five, in four suburban school systems, with the understanding that there would be no more than three such youngsters in any single classroom. The towns originally selected for invitation to participate in the program were chosen on a number of criteria, but basically the question was one of subjective impression as to receptivity to the idea. In each case, a letter was sent from the Connecticut State Department of Education to the local Board of Education because it was seen as an educational policy decision. This fact was affirmed subsequently by an opinion from the State Attorney General and by the legal counsel in each of the towns, all of whom ruled that Connecticut State statutes clearly placed the responsibility for this decision with the local Board of Education. This meant that neither a town meeting nor a referendum could legally decide the issue.

The receipt of this letter by the local Board of Education touched off a series of events in each of the communities involved. There was a marshaling of forces by both those in favor and opposed, petitions were circulated,

meetings held, letters sent, and court suits threatened. The formal procedure of the Board of Education in all of the towns was to hold a public meeting which, first of all, provided information about the details of the proposal and, secondly, allowed each citizen an opportunity to express his feelings so that the Board might be aware of the local sentiment. The meetings were usually conducted with at least surface decorum, but in each instance the crowds could be described as "standing room only", and the intensity of the feelings ran very high. There were occasional episodes of both vehemence and viciousness. Generally, the tone of these meetings was more negative than positive. The basic objections voiced were as follows:

1. this is Hartford's problem and Hartford should solve it;
2. this is the beginning of Metropolitan Government and it will result in the loss of local autonomy and jurisdiction;
3. it would be better to spend the money on improving the conditions in the Hartford Public Schools;
4. the time involved in bussing would be physically harmful to the children;
5. the contrast between the affluence of the suburb and the poverty of the home would result in psychological trauma;
6. children would become isolated from their own neighborhoods and lose a sense of belonging;
7. their educational disabilities would be brought into clearer focus both to themselves and to the suburban children, resulting in a confirmation of their own negative self-perception and the negative perception of suburban children;
8. suburban schools are already overcrowded and there is no room to bring in outsiders;
9. the presence of disabled learners would result in the reduction of the quality of education in the suburbs;
10. the black community would prefer to have better schools of their own;
11. suburban families had to work their way up and then move out; if inner city families desire the opportunity of the suburbs, let them come by way of the same route.

These objections and the turmoil which surrounded them did not make the task confronting members of the various boards of education any easier. They were subjected to pressures from both sides, some subtle and some crude. The professional administrators in the suburban school systems studied their situations, estimated the potential space that might be available (since any youngsters accepted from Hartford would be on a vacant seat basis; i.e., they would occupy those seats which would not otherwise be used in classrooms which had enrollments below the locally established cut-off figure which was generally 25), and assessed the impact of initiation of the program on their own teachers and students. Through all this process there remained the recognition that at some point the confrontation had to come and the decision had to be made. In three of the original four towns (Farmington, Manchester, and West Hartford) the decision was an affirmation of the Board of Education's willingness to cooperate in this quest for increased educational opportunity for inner city youngsters. The fourth town, Glastonbury, declined to participate on a tied vote. The Town of West Hartford was the first to agree to this educational experiment and they did so in resounding fashion, while at the same time they established clear cut conditions that would define the nature of the program. Foremost among these con-

ditions was a unique demand in the field of American public education: Project Concern must be implemented with a carefully worked out experimental design and must be conducted in a fashion that would permit evaluation of its effectiveness after two years. This condition, buttressed by a number of operational requirements, gave the program its initial structure. The basic operational requirements were as follows:

1. The City of Hartford pay the suburban town tuition for each child accepted and this tuition be equal to the average per pupil cost in the suburban school system's elementary program.
2. Decisions about placement in programs for Hartford youngsters would be the responsibility of the suburban school administrators.
3. In the event that the suburban school system should feel the program was not working, they could withdraw on 30-days notice to the Board of Education of the City of Hartford.
4. Transportation and administration of the program would be the responsibility of the City of Hartford.

In this fashion contractual arrangements between the City of Hartford and each suburban town were crystallized. In essence, Project Concern pupils were to be treated as any other tuition child might be.

The loss of Glastonbury left the program short of its goal of 300 youngsters. At this point, persons in two other suburban towns (Simsbury and South Windsor) indicated some interest in the program and requested the Connecticut State Department of Education to approach these towns. This, in fact, was done and the same process (and the same problems) evolved in Simsbury and South Windsor. In June, 1966, the fifth town voted to participate and Project Concern found itself with 266 spaces available in 35 schools in these five towns. West Hartford made available the largest number of seats (80) while Simsbury and South Windsor each committed themselves to providing 25 spaces.

On September 4, 1966, these 266 youngsters, randomly selected from those schools in Hartford that had 85% or more non-white population, started a bus ride to the suburban schools of greater Hartford. The bus ride has lasted for two years and will soon go into a much expanded third year. This report attempts to document what has happened to those youngsters who, at 7:30 a.m. each day, climb aboard those yellow school busses that slowly wind their way through crowded and disadvantaged sections of Hartford and move to the affluent suburbs which are only a few miles away.

Chapter 2

THE SEARCH FOR HOPE

"Tell him that the world shall be, not what his God wants but what fighting man can make it. Tell him you have given life a chance and the Dreamer has given life a song."

O'CASEY

Project Concern, like so many efforts to improve the educational development of inner city youth, accepted as a general fact the often reported cumulative deficit theory. Hartford's children attending essentially non-white schools in neighborhoods with high incidence of social problems appear to be similar to youngsters in other cities throughout the North. On measures of mental ability and academic achievement they fall farther and farther behind, in terms of national norms and expectations, the longer they stay in school. Headstart and other enrichment programs appear able to slow down this trend, but not to reverse it. In considering the limited success of so-called compensatory programs, a number of possible explanations present themselves. However, it may well be that these efforts to upgrade education in the "ghetto" school have not realistically faced the nature of the burden which such a school carries. In a sense, compensatory programs assume that the teacher and the institutional structure can create sufficient stimulation to change already established learning styles that are constantly being reinforced both by the peer group and by success in the neighborhood. Project Concern, on the other hand, is built upon the following assumptions:

1. Response patterns are most likely to change when the environmental conditions (physical, psychological, and social) are markedly different from those typically encountered.
2. As old response patterns are discarded, the evolving new patterns will develop in the direction of models presented by the peer group, provided such models do not create disabling anxiety or pose unattainable goals.
3. Teacher expectations can be consistently higher (and therefore more effective) when the classroom situation provides feedback to the teacher in terms of adequate goal attainment by a majority of the students.

These assumptions contain within them a rationale for the operational design of Project Concern.

However, Project Concern is not intended to be just a demonstration; rather, it is an experimental assay in search of answers more than it is an illustration of techniques. This effort to observe, analyze, and discover plunges the Project into all of the problems that confront applied research in the "real world" setting. The controlled manipulation of variables so easily accomplished in the laboratory can only be approximated in the daily world — and even these approximations are difficult to protect within the constraint of respect for human choices and finances. With full recognition of these problems it was agreed that the basic question which demanded an answer was: Can the typical youngster from Hartford's northend schools benefit educationally from attendance in a suburban school? There seemed little doubt that selected youngsters who had shown

academic progress would develop more quickly in an environment that provided increased challenge and encouragement, but there is little information about what might happen to the average youngster who had shown little educational initiative. This basic concern, to some extent, defined the parameters of success for this program. The major criterion for success of Project Concern is measurable, systematic change, associated with placement in a suburban school, on evaluation instruments with high predictability of future school performance. A number of very real questions could be raised about this criterion. Changes in observed behavior, in reported self esteem, in motivation and interest, and in teacher evaluation are all highly important and relevant aspects of school learning. Yet, in the long run these are variables which should, sooner or later, have some impact on the major criterion mentioned above. This report will deal with all of those mentioned above, but it recognizes that in the final analysis improved academic performance is the pre-eminent goal.

At a deeper and more philosophical level one can question the relevance or meaningfulness of the traditional suburban school to a pluralistic society. Pragmatically, however, the skills and attitudes that are closely related to success and ability in modern America are skills and attitudes that are rather effectively transmitted in the suburban school. The immediate question is not whether these values are sound; the immediate question is whether a segment of our population is going to be constrained and restricted in terms of its economic, cultural, and social growth because it has been deprived of alternative avenues. The process leading to profound change in educational goals and programs may be long and arduous; youngsters are crippled educationally each day. Project Concern is designed to prevent and correct this crippling.

As the details of implementation were faced, a new issue arose. It was clear that Hartford's northend youngsters would be at an academic disadvantage in suburbia and the fear that the disadvantage could be psychologically crippling was voiced. At the same time, from some suburban sources came the worry that the Hartford children's disabilities would place a demand on the teacher and work to the detriment of the suburban children in a classroom. To meet these concerns, the idea of the "supportive team" was developed. This team, made up of a professional teacher provided by Hartford but to be deployed by the suburban school at their discretion and a para-professional aide indigenous to Hartford's northend, would accompany each 25 experimental youngsters. The assumption was that the local school, through a number of different avenues, could then meet the remedial needs of the experimental youngsters, maintain better home-school contact, and also provide a bonus to the local school population in terms of adding staff time and talent.

This concept won quick acceptance in most of the involved communities; it also introduced a new contamination into the research design. The question was no longer: Will suburban educational opportunities create greater developmental stimulus than the urban educational environment? Rather, it now read: Will suburban educational opportunities accompanied by supportive instructional assistance beyond that usually available create greater development than the urban school? This could well be read as a stacking of the cards. At the least it posed the problem of how to distinguish whether the suburban placement in and of itself is an effective intervention. In fact, the interweaving of these two aspects of the program might well make it impossible to assess the impact of the suburban school.

To meet the crises created by these complications two steps were taken. At the insistence of the West Hartford Public Schools it was decided that half of the Hartford youngsters to be placed in those schools would not receive the benefit of the supportive team. The West Hartford officials also requested that among the control

youngsters, remaining in Hartford, there be a group who would receive the same supportive assistance which was being provided to most of the youngsters going to suburban schools. This four treatment model would then permit inferences about the relative impact of urban-suburban mixing versus supportive assistance.

This problem underlined the many difficulties involved in defining the treatments. How homogeneous a concept is "suburban school" when this describes five different school systems, 35 different schools, and 124 different classrooms? In similar fashion, how homogeneous is the concept "inner city", particularly with the differential expenditure of increasing amounts of state and federal monies for enriching and compensatory experiences? These are unanswerable questions and an assumption is made that there are some distinctive differences between suburban schools and inner city schools. The critical question, however, became one of defining the nature of the assistance to be provided by the supportive team. Although the role was defined in varied fashion in the five communities (from having the teacher serve as a regular classroom teacher so as to free other teachers to work with small groups to a roving remedial instructor), certain commonalities of function appeared:

1. Increased availability of remedial assistance for pupils who needed it (both experimental and suburban pupils).
2. Close contact with the home.
3. Close liaison with special services such as social work and psychology.
4. Provision of new resource materials for teachers dealing with culturally different children.

With these characteristics as a base an attempt was made to establish the equivalency of a treatment group (non-bussed, with supportive assistance) without actually assigning a similarly designed team as was done for the experimental group. Rather, a northend school with special personnel resources was utilized and an agreement reached with the school administration that the control youngsters selected from there would receive all of the services spelled out in the prior paragraph. A periodic check was made to see that the services were indeed provided.

Design problems were not the only ones being seriously studied in those months immediately preceding the initiation of the program. There were many questions that had to do with the logistical feasibility of the operation which caused people to doubt and to wonder. The West Hartford Public Schools developed a proposal which would study these logistical problems by incorporating a number of Hartford's northend youngsters into their regular summer school program. With funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity this project was initiated in July-August, 1966, and is recorded fully in the document entitled *An Experiment in Urban-Suburban Education* (West Hartford Public Schools, 1967).

The major conclusions of that report are as follows:

1. Poverty area parents appear to accept the idea of urban-suburban mixing.
2. Neither bus schedules nor bus behavior create major obstacles to such programs.
3. Attendance at a summer school was essentially the same in terms of absences and drop-out rates for both urban and suburban children.

4. There was no evidence of psychological or cultural blocks to learning of urban children bussed to a suburban school.
5. Suburban teaching staff did not report greater difficulty in teaching urban children.

These findings suggest the operational feasibility of the program and the very fact of its existence underlines the political feasibility. The major focus of this document is to report on the educational feasibility.

From its earliest beginning Project Concern had as its goal the exploration of what is possible for the typical inner city child. As an experimental study, it was looking to draw inferences that could be generalized to disadvantaged youngsters in urban centers everywhere. Realistically, it was aware of individual differences and recognized that no treatment would be a panacea with effective impact on all youngsters. At the same time, it did seem reasonable to expect consistent trends, applicable generally, but not universally, might appear in a project that was carefully conceptualized and vigorously implemented. Basic to this effort are several procedures which are summarized in brief fashion below.

A. SELECTION OF SUBJECTS — The overall population under consideration in Project Concern can be operationally defined in the following manner:

1. They must be entering grades K-5 in September, 1966.
2. They must be enrolled in a public school in the northend of Hartford which is at least 85% non-white population.
3. They must not have a recorded IQ which makes them eligible for special class placement (below 80 IQ).

With these three criteria establishing the available population, a sample of a size determined by space made available by the five suburban communities was to be randomly selected. Ideally, this random selection would have been on a child by child basis. Practical considerations dictated a compromise, and intact classes were randomly selected in the eight eligible schools by use of a table of random numbers. This compromise made it possible for the City of Hartford to free a teacher for every class (25 or so youngsters) selected who could then be assigned to a supportive team as described above. The actual selection of classes of experimental subjects came by chance from five of the eligible schools with two schools considered most disadvantaged contributing 40% to the experimental sample. A control group was then selected on a somewhat stratified fashion. Randomness was now restricted to the extent that controls at a given grade level must be drawn from the same school or schools from which the experimentals had come. The intent here was to combine certain aspects of a matched group with some degree of randomness. There remained one limitation on the randomness of the experimental sample. The controls could be selected in this predetermined fashion without further consultation. Experimental subjects, however, could not suddenly be transported to out of city schools without parental consent. Any large number of parental refusals could introduce a contamination of unknown magnitude to the experiment. Many had warned that such refusals were to be expected and that, indeed, it might be difficult to find 250 to 300 families to participate without drawing heavily from the Negro middle class. These fears proved unwarranted; the five communities provided 266 spaces and when families were contacted for permission only 12 declined to participate.

B. ASSIGNMENT — No predetermined method was used in the assignment of the youngsters to suburban schools. Because suburban school authorities did not determine until late August, 1966, the number of spaces

available at each grade level at each school, assignments were simply made. All youngsters were placed at the grade level in which they would have been had they remained in the Hartford Public School system.

C. DIMENSIONS AND MEASURES — With a Project such as this it becomes necessary to delimit the areas that are going to be observed and analyzed. The following brief statements summarize in capsule form those dimensions that were the center of experimental interest and the techniques utilized to assess change along them.

1. Mental Ability — Both the verbal scale of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and the Test of Primary Mental Abilities were administered to all experimental and control subjects at four points during the two-year experimental phase (Fall, 1966; Spring, 1967; Fall, 1967; Spring, 1968). The administration of the individual test (WISC) was done by a certified psychological examiner at the school to which the youngster was assigned; the PMA was administered to mixed groups made up of both experimental and control youngsters in an effort to eliminate any contamination that might result from test administration techniques.

2. School Skills — At the primary grades (K-1) it was felt that the essential skill was readiness for reading. For this reason, the Metropolitan Readiness Test was selected as an appropriate instrument and was administered to all subjects in mixed groups of experimentals and controls at the same four testing points mentioned above. In the intermediate grades (3-6) emphasis was placed upon development in the areas of reading and mathematics. Again, the testing was of mixed groups and contained all subjects. However, because of the time involved in administration of these tests, it was decided that measures in the Spring of 1967 and again in the Spring of 1968 would be adequate. In the original assessment the subtests of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills were utilized; in Spring, 1968, a change was made to the Sequential Test of Educational Progress because many of the youngsters had recently taken the Iowa Test of Basic Skills in the regular school testing program.

3. Anxiety and Self Esteem — The instruments utilized by Sarason, et. al., in their studies of elementary school children seemed to offer some promise in the assessment of both experimental and control children. As a result, both the Test Anxiety Scale and the General Anxiety Scale were administered to mixed groups at the same four testing points utilized for measures of mental ability.

4. Peer Acceptance — A major concern of the Project was the extent to which the experimental youngsters were to be integrated into the receiving schools as full fledged members. A sociometric technique was developed and administered in all of the suburban classrooms to which Project children were assigned in the fall of 1967.

5. Pupil Attitude — Of extreme importance is the actual feeling and reaction of those youngsters from Hartford who are attending suburban schools. A sample of 54 youngsters was randomly drawn from the experimental sample and a Negro college student, not otherwise connected with the Project, was employed to interview those selected, using a highly structured format. A copy of this format can be found in the Appendix.

6. Suburban Parent Attitude — An anonymous questionnaire (contained in the Appendix) was mailed to a randomly selected sample of 700 suburban families in the fall of 1967.

7. Suburban Achievement — The annual school testing program carried out by the suburban school system was used as the base for studying the impact of Hartford children upon the achievement of suburban children.

8. Teacher Perception — Each classroom teacher was asked to complete a rating scale (see Appendix) on each experimental youngster in her class. These ratings were distributed in the late spring of 1968.

In addition, variables such as school attendance, drop-outs, and occupational aspiration were systematically observed. The following chapters will present the results of these observations and analyses.

D. LIMITATIONS — Some of the limitations of this study have already been indicated above; particularly important are the questions of the homogeneity of the four interventions and the difficulty of isolating which are the potent variables in a complex, interacting system such as the one being analyzed. In addition, the numbers involved are small and when they are subdivided into grade levels and by sex, this smallness creates a serious situation. Along with this, are those difficulties associated with the choice of instruments. Measurement errors and less than perfect validity and reliability complicate the problem; even more critical, however, is the question as to the sensitivity of the instruments chosen since most of the research would suggest that these instruments are highly stable over time. The question as to whether this stability is a characteristic of the instrument or of those being tested is unresolved in this writer's mind.

These are limitations intrinsic to any such study. Beyond these, Project Concern suffers from another limitation which can be attributed only to human error. In the initial year (1966-67) the contract for data collection was given to an outside agency and inadequate checks and controls were maintained. As a result, there are serious gaps in this original testing with considerable numbers of youngsters missed in the data collection process. Analysis of the performance of these youngsters on subsequent testings suggest that these youngsters might not have been missed on a random basis. This fact has required that the major burden of evidence of the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of the experimental interventions be based on the second year testing (Fall, 1967 and Spring, 1968) where the data is better than 95% complete and where the data collection was under the direct supervision of the Project Director (although outside personnel were employed for the actual collection).

The material presented above provides the skeletal framework for understanding the direction and intention of Project Concern. At the same time, it is important to go beyond the experimental design and procedures and to underline the fact that this has been an experience in humanity. The philosophical and substantive issues are no less serious than the methodological ones. Unfortunately, methodological purity is often gained only at the expense of substantive relevance. Hopefully, in Project Concern a balance has been maintained between the rigors necessary for scientific inference and generalization and each youngster's right to a learning situation optimal for him and experience meaningful to him.

Chapter 3

THE CHILDREN: WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY SAY

To man, that needs would worship block or barren stone,
Our law says: Love what are love's worthiest, were all known:
World's loveliest — men's selves.

HOPKINS

The random selection process described above resulted in a sample of 266 experimental subjects and 305 controls, most of whom are the basis for this report. (Some are excluded because of attrition by way of "dropping out" of the Project, because of moving away from the target area, or because they were missed in the data collection process.) Yet to describe these youngsters as a random group assumed to be representative of the "ghetto" population in Hartford's northend is too general and imprecise. This chapter attempts, in outline fashion, to describe the social conditions from which these youngsters emerge and also to present their own reaction to suburban schooling at the end of two years.

Most critical, since Project Concern is primarily an educational intervention, is a clear picture of the academic status of these youth. Table 1 indicates the initial (Fall, 1966) measured verbal intelligence quotient based on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children for both experimental and control subjects. Although there is some variability in these mean scores, there is considerable evidence of the consistency with which they fall below national expectations. This is the more important in the light of the fact that these are scores based on an orally administered test which does not require reading ability.

Table 1
Initial IQ by Grade and Treatment

	Kdg.	1	2	3	4	5
Grp. I (Non-bussed; non-supported)	85.6	92.3	89.3	91.0	88.7	94.9
Grp. II (Non-bussed; supported)	—	—	—	—	91.0	94.5
Grp. III (Bussed; non-supported)	87.6	83.6	—	95.4	92.5	94.6
Grp. IV (Bussed; supported)	84.8	96.8	92.4	95.2	91.3	89.0

Even more important is to note two other facts. Again assuming the representativeness of these samples, one is impressed by the lack of evidence of the "cumulative deficit" on a cross-sectional basis. Indeed, what evidence exists, indicates a slight trend toward better performance (in terms of national norms) in the higher grades. The second fact illustrated by these figures is that Hartford's "ghetto" youth enter school disabled. They come to school with serious deficiencies at the kindergarten level and experience in a Headstart program does

not appear to have any influence on this fact. Among both experimental and control groups the random selection resulted in a subgroup of kindergarten subjects who had had Headstart experience. On no measure of the initial testing is there a significant difference attributable to this prior program.

More specifically, these kindergarten subjects in both the experimental and control samples perform consistently below average in all subtests. Their average functioning in each of the five Wechsler subtests is approximately at the same level (15% ile on national norms) as reflected in the IQ. There is some tendency for the weakness to be more pronounced in the General Information and Vocabulary areas and somewhat less pronounced in Arithmetic and Similarities. At the same time, the standard error of these latter two tests is greater and the relatively better score (still below national norms) may be an artifact of lack of differentiation at this age level.

In general, it seems safe to conclude that the subjects of this study were significantly below average (in terms of national expectations) on measures of academic ability. It also seems safe to conclude that this phenomenon is clearly discernible at the beginning of the child's school experience. These facts suggest that Project Concern has directed itself to a sample which has the learning characteristics which have been considered typical of the urban poor.

This same conclusion appears valid when the focus shifts from academic to social characteristics. Presented below are some of the more salient statistics in this area:

A. Living Situation

1. Both parents	56%
2. Mother only	36%
3. Father only	1%
4. Step-parent(s)	7%

B. Income Source

1. Both parents	23%
2. Father only	36%
3. Mother only	12%
4. Welfare	29%

C. Number of Siblings

1. No siblings	0.5%
2. 1-3	23.0%
3. 4-6	44.5%
4. 7 or more	32.0%

D. Father's Occupational Level

1. Professional	1.0%
2. Managerial	1.0%
3. Skilled	2.0%
4. Semi-skilled	52.0%
5. Unskilled	44.0%

E. Birth Place of Parent(s) with whom living

1. Connecticut	18%
2. North other than Conn.	6%
3. South	65%
4. Puerto Rico/ West Indies	11%

F. Residence

1. Own home	6%
2. Rent single or duplex	11%
3. Rent tenement	83%

The overall picture from these statistics is of a large family, frequently one which has experienced some structural breakdown, subsisting on limited funds in crowded, densely populated areas which are basically alien to the parents' early childhood experience in the rural South.

The subjective recognition of these two sets of data led many observers to worry about the psychological impact which placement in a suburban school might have on the child. Clearly the Hartford child being bussed would be at a disadvantage academically and economically; it was unclear how these disadvantages would be translated into behavior and feelings. This concern was shared by parents at both ends of the "bus ride" and by the Project staff, but in the last analysis only the youngsters themselves, both Hartford and suburban, could provide answers.

In an attempt to discover these answers fourteen (14) youngsters at each grade level 2-5 were randomly selected from the experimental sample and a male Negro college student, not otherwise connected with the Project, employed to conduct a structured interview with these 56 children. The following results were obtained:

1. 71% indicated a desire to continue.
2. This percentage varies from grade to grade with the older children indicating a greater preference for continuation.
   a. Grade 2 36%
   b. Grade 3 72%
   c. Grade 4 86%
   d. Grade 5 93%
3. There appear to be some differences in responses across towns but this is impossible to evaluate because of small numbers and interaction with grade.
4. Girls are slightly more inclined toward continuation than boys (75% to 64%).
5. Children who report that they wish to continue in the program also indicate that they feel that their parents desire this and that they have been well treated by suburban children. Those who indicate a desire to withdraw indicate a higher degree of parental conflict over this issue and a higher degree of perceived rejection or mistreatment by suburban children.
6. 71% indicate that the suburban teachers have been more friendly than most teachers whom they have known.
7. Only four youngsters indicated that being bussed had a negative impact upon their relations with peers in the "ghetto" neighborhood while five reported some increased tension among siblings as a result of the program. (At the same time twenty-four reported that they felt the program had led to improved sibling relationships and the remaining twenty-seven attributed no influence to their participation in the Project.)
8. There appeared to be no clear relationship between previous school attended (some Hartford "ghetto" schools are physically depressing while others resemble a typical suburban school in appearance) and desire to continue in the Project although there was a trend which the small numbers and the contamination with grade rendered beyond further analysis.

These eight (8) statements are the most direct response to the question: how do the children feel? They are, at least, a summary of what the children say and the only interpretation which can be given to what they have said is that most of the participants view their experience as positive and growth producing. Some further corroboration of this inference will be found in Chapters IV and V where the academic and non-academic results of the experiment are presented. These same statements also raise some questions — and most disturbing is the difference in attitude across grades. This difference, significant in a Chi Square Test at the .01 level, runs counter to the expected relative impact of such a program on academic development. These and other issues must await further replication and study before interpretation can be meaningful.

Chapter 4

AFTER TWO YEARS — ACADEMIC FACTORS

And for all this, nature is never spent;
There lives the dearest freshness deep down things;
And though the last lights off the black West went
Oh, morning, at the brown brink eastward, springs —

HOPKINS

It is difficult to know how best to evaluate an experiment especially when even the most highly regarded measurement instruments are seen as barely adequate. Nonetheless, evaluation is necessary and there do exist assessment techniques which have demonstrated high predictive validity in terms of subsequent school performance. A major goal of Project Concern has been the improvement of the school functioning of youngsters who, in the main, could look forward only to very limited success in these areas. For this reason the question of the "bias" of the instruments chosen or of their appropriateness to the different cultural experiences is irrelevant.

The instruments are intended to measure changes over time in skills which appear closely related to school success. Whether the instruments are sufficiently sensitive to be able to reflect such changes and to allow such real changes to be distinguished from measurement errors is another question. Previous research in the area would lead to considerable skepticism about this — particularly in a short-term experiment with youngsters who had already crystallized a learning style. Yet, again the evolution of the science is a function of the level of development of its techniques for observation and analysis. In the present instance it is necessary to admit that the current stage is indeed a primitive one.

This results not only from the nature of the measuring instruments (which can be compensated some by use of diverse and complementary techniques), but also from the nature of the question. The overdetermination (or multiple casuality) in human behavior is a generally accepted thesis. Similarly, the complexity of human behavior as a result of the multiplicity of variables interacting at one time makes difficult precise analyses as to which are the critical input factors related to specific, observed output behaviors. The present study can be viewed only as a beginning effort to map terrain that is vague and clouded; if it provides some indications of general outline it will have been successful.

More particularly, this present Report will delineate the general, overall findings after two years. It will be followed by a subsequent, more analytical report which will attempt to tease out the "why" of the general conclusions contained in this chapter. This two step approach has been adopted for pragmatic reasons. There has been concern about making the general findings available at an early date so that planning becomes possible for those who live with the day-to-day exigencies of the real world. At the same time, it was considered highly desirable to have the time and opportunity to pursue in depth the leads and hints which the data provide. Two reports, separated in time, make both of these goals possible.

Before presenting the specific results it is important to make clear the base for any conclusions. In the preceding chapter it was mentioned that the original experimental sample had a number (N) of 266 and the control sample an N of 305. Attrition has had some impact on each of these. Table 2 categorizes this loss and indicates the figures upon which the presentation is made. Table 3 breaks these total figures down by grade and treatment.

Table 2
Disposition of Original Sample

	Experimental	Control
Original Participants	266	305
Moved from Target Area	34	57
Drop-outs	26	—
Missed in Testing	9	4
Final Number for Analysis	197	244

Table 3
Available Number by Grade and Treatment

	Group I (Non-bussed; Non-supported)	Group II (Non-bussed; Supported)	Group III (Bussed; Non-supported)	Group IV (Bussed; Supported)
Kdg.	36	None	11	28
1	35	None	8	21
2	17	18	4	38
3	37	11	5	20
4	35	13	4	20
5	26	16	5	33
Total	186	58	37	160

However, even these figures must be placed within the perspective of an unfortunate laxity in the data collection — particularly in the initial phase. As has been mentioned earlier, testing was accomplished at four points: Fall, 1966; Spring, 1967; Fall, 1967; Spring, 1968. Table 4 reports the percentage of subjects in each treatment group tested at each of these points. There are several places in the initial testing where the loss is greater than can be considered permissible. The figures presented are for the individual testing with the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and these reflect the greatest loss. Comparable figures for the group testing are considerably more adequate.

In order to reduce the danger of distortion due to bias in the subjects tested, particularly when the percentage varies from 43% for Group II to 85% for Group IV, the analysis of results on the WISC will use the second testing (Spring, 1967) as a base. This reduces the variability in percentage to a range of 82% for Group I to 90% for Group II.

Table 4

Percentage of Subjects by Grade Tested in Each Treatment Group (WISC)

	Group I				Group II				Group III				Group IV			
	F66	S67	F67	S68	F66	S67	F67	S68	F66	S67	F67	S68	F66	S67	F67	S68
Kdg.	64	89	94	100	Not Applicable				73	100	100	100	80	83	90	97
1	70	78	94	100	Not Applicable				88	88	100	100	79	79	83	88
2	75	80	90	90	88	94	100	100	60	60	80	80	95	95	100	100
3	89	92	100	100	0	85	85	85	60	100	100	100	78	78	91	91
4	54	60	100	100	0	75	100	100	80	80	80	80	90	90	95	95
5	96	100	100	100	62	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	84	90	100	100
All	73	82	92	98	43	90	97	97	75	89	95	95	85	87	94	96

A. WECHSLER INTELLIGENCE SCALE FOR CHILDREN

Table 5 summarizes the pattern of changes in IQ for the four treatment groups over the five grades. Statistical analysis of these changes results in the following conclusions:

1. Placement in a suburban school along with supportive assistance is associated with significantly greater growth in IQ than placement in an urban school under either condition at grades *kindergarten, 2* and *3.*
2. Placement in a suburban school *without* supportive assistance is associated with significantly greater growth in IQ than placement in an urban school under either condition at grades *kindergarten, 1* and *3.*
3. At only one grade level (grade 4) do subjects in an urban school have a growth rate in IQ that is significantly higher than the experimental groups.
4. The least effective treatment method appears to be urban placement combined with supportive assistance. The experimental groups (either or both) outperform these subjects at all four grade levels in which this treatment method was employed.
5. There appears to be no clear difference in the impact of suburban placement by itself and suburban placement along with supportive assistance.
6. The experimental intervention seems most effective up through grade 3 in terms of measurable changes in intellectual functioning.
7. The signs of "cumulative deficit" do not appear very clearly although there are some slight decrements in the upper two grades.
8. There is no clear trend for drops in performance level to occur after the summer vacation.
9. The changes in IQ, though moderate in magnitude, reflect considerable growth toward the national norm for the experimental groups in grades K through 3.
10. The subtests which contribute to the gains in IQ for the experimental groups are Information and Vocabulary in grades Kdg., 1 and 2 with Arithmetic also included at grade 3.

Table 5
IQ Changes by Grade and Control Group

	Change S67 - F67	Change F67 - S68	Total Change		Change S67 - F67	Change F67 - S68	Total Change
	Kdg.				Grade 3		
I	2.0	1.0	3.0	I	2.8	–3.3	–0.5
II	—	—	—	II	–3.3	–0.9	–4.2
III	4.4	3.8	8.2	III	4.2	2.2	6.4
IV	8.1	1.2	9.3	IV	3.2	3.0	6.2
	Grade 1				Grade 4		
I	–1.4	3.4	2.0	I	3.0	3.7	6.7
II	—	—	—	II	–1.3	–5.7	–7.0
III	10.3	–5.3	5.0	III	–5.2	3.0	–2.2
IV	0.6	2.0	2.6	IV	–0.5	3.1	2.6
	Grade 2				Grade 5		
I	2.6	0.7	3.3	I	1.5	1.8	3.3
II	5.5	–5.0	0.5	II	5.5	–6.0	–0.5
III	–3.3	8.7	5.4	III	1.6	3.0	4.6
IV	2.9	3.8	6.7	IV	0.7	1.2	1.9

B. PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES

The Test of Primary Mental Abilities was administered to mixed groups of experimental and control subjects at four points in time. Because of the complexity of reporting the diversity of results, a grade by grade analysis is presented below:

1. Kindergarten — significant differences at the .05 are as follows:
   a. Group III over Group I — Verbal and Motor
   b. Group IV over Group I — Motor Spatial
2. Grade 1 — (.05 level)
   a. Group IV over Group I — Verbal
   b. Group I over Group III — Perception
3. Grade 2 — (.05 level)
   a. Group IV over Group I — Verbal and Reasoning
   b. Group II over Group I — Verbal and Reasoning
4. Grade 3 — (Significance level as indicated)
   a. Group III over Group I — Verbal (.05)

b. Group IV over Group I — Verbal (.05) and Reasoning (.05)
c. Group III over Group II — Verbal (.01)
d. Group IV over Group II — Verbal (.05)
e. Group III over Group IV — Verbal (.05)

5. Grade 4 — (.05 level)
   a. Group I over Group IV — Verbal
6. Grade 5 — No significant differences

These results confirm those reported for the WISC. There is a clear and significant trend for subjects assigned to experimental treatments to do better than those in the control treatments. On the PMA there are some indications that supportive assistance enhances the performance in each setting, but an ordering of the impact of each treatment in terms of effectiveness would be as follows:

1st	Group IV	(Bussed; Supported)
2nd	Group III	(Bussed; Non-supported)
3rd	Group II	(Non-bussed; Supported)
4th	Group I	(Non-bussed; Non-supported)

Other conclusions supported by these data are that the major impact seems to be in the verbal area with secondary effect on the reasoning test. Also, there is no evidence that suburban placement results in improved performance in the upper two grades (4 and 5).

C. MEASURES OF SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

In addition to the measures of mental ability reported on above, achievement measures were utilized in five (5) of the six (6) grade levels. They were as follows:

Kdg.	Metropolitan Readiness Test
Grade 1	Metropolitan Readiness Test
Grade 2	No measures
Grade 3, 4, 5	STEP Reading and Mathematics

These tests were administered in Spring, 1967, and Spring, 1968. The results presented below are based upon an analysis of change scores between those two testings across the four treatment groups. Grade by grade results are:

1. Kindergarten — (significance level as indicated)
   a. Group III over Group I — Alphabet (.05)
   b. Group IV over Group I — Word Knowledge (.05) and Copying (.01)
2. Grade 1 — no significant differences
3. Grade 2 — no achievement testing done

4. Grade 3 — (significance level as indicated)
   a. Group III over Group I — Reading (.05) and Mathematics (.01)
   b. Group III over Group II — Reading (.05) and Mathematics (.01)
   c. Group IV over Group I — Mathematics (.05)
   d. Group IV over Group II — Reading (.05) and Mathematics (.01)
5. Grade 4 — (significance level as indicated)
   a. Group I over Group III — Reading (.01) and Mathematics (.05)
   b. Group I over Group IV — Mathematics (.05)
   c. Group I over Group II — Mathematics (.05)
6. Grade 5 — (significance level as indicated)
   a. Group I over Group IV — Reading (.05)
   b. Group II over Group IV — Mathematics (.05)

Again, the results seem essentially the same as reported for the ability scores. In the lower grades the differences are consistently in favor of the experimental groups with some slight edge given to the bussed group *without* supportive assistance. The addition of supportive assistance in the urban school has no measurable impact. However, at the upper two grades the suburban intervention does not appear effective. In fact, the control groups outperform the experimentals.

It should be re-emphasized that the results reported here summarize a series of tests of significance of differences of mean change scores over the periods involved. As a result, they are subject to the caution which must be called upon where change scores are utilized. At the same time, the consistency of the results over a number of tests reduces the danger that the observed differences can be an artifact of the unreliability of psychological measures. In any event, the results warrant considerable confidence in the effectiveness of the experimental intervention. A more sophisticated study of this intervention utilizing analyses of covariance and multiple regression will be published later. This subsequent study may begin to pinpoint the variables which constitute the most effective input.

Chapter 5

AFTER TWO YEARS — NON-ACADEMIC FACTORS

Yes, the prisoner lives, he does not die; there are no outward signs of what passes within him — his health is good, he is more or less gay when the sun shines . . . "But he has everything he wants", say the children who tend him in his cage. . . . Inwardly he rebels against his fate. "I am caged, I am caged, and you tell me I do not want anything, fools!"

VAN GOGH

To capture the essence of a human experience is difficult under any circumstances and it is further complicated when the dimensions which may be most important are subtle. In Chapter III an effort was made to obtain at least a gross view of what Project Concern meant to the participants insofar as this can be captured by percentages. Chapter IV presented the cold statistics of test results. Behind both of these sets of data are children with feelings, with hopes, with fears, with aspirations. These facets of human behavior probably lend themselves more to a case study analysis than to a statistical reflection. At the same time, the goal of Project Concern was not only to provide a growth experience for some 260 youngsters; it was also to study the implications of the experience for future planning. The present chapter continues in the same model, but attempts to focus around behaviors which may shed some light on the motivational and attitudinal factors rather than the academic ones.

A. INTERACTION WITH SUBURBAN CHILDREN

Any child entering a new school situation is confronted with the problems of acceptance into an already organized social system. With the exception of the kindergarten children, this issue faced all of the Project Concern subjects and it was intensified by other aspects of differentness (racial, cultural, and economic). Some insight into this question comes from the concern voiced by many before the initiation of the Project that those children would be isolated. In Chapter III the interviews with Project children suggested that they saw themselves as treated like other (i.e., suburban) children in the school. Three other questions still demand attention:

1. how do the suburban children report their acceptance of the Hartford children;
2. how do the teachers perceive the social interaction;
3. to what extent do the Hartford children take part in the after-school activities in the suburbs.

In all three of these areas there are certain methodological problems. For example, is there a direct correlation between pupil report and pupil behavior? Yet, within the limitations of the methodology, it would appear that data from each of these issues corroborate the reported perception of the Project children that they have a sense of belonging in the suburban school.

1. Sociometric Study

A sociometric study based on three items was administered in all suburban classrooms with Project children. Each child was to indicate his three (3) choices for each of the items which were as follows:

Item 1. Name 3 children in this classroom you would like to eat lunch with?
Item 2. Name 3 children in this classroom you would like to work with on a school project?
Item 3. Name 3 children in this classroom you would like to go to the movies with?

The results of this study can be summarized as follows for the Project children.

	% of Total Class Population	% of Total No. of Choices	% Receiving One or More Mutual Choices	% with Three Mutual Choices
Item 1	4%	4%	67%	12%
Item 2	4%	2.7%	58%	6%
Item 3	4%	3%	60%	7%

In addition the Project child tended to choose all suburban children in his response (partially, at least, as a function of the limited number of inner city choices available to him — never more than two). This table shows that Project Children were selected in a proportion that was consistent with their proportionate membership in the classroom. In addition between 58% and 67% were involved in at least one mutual choice (i.e., where the Project child chose a suburban child and this same suburban child selected him) while between 6% and 12% had the maximum number of possible mutual choices. These data support the teacher's reports and the head count of after school activity which indicate the Project child is accepted as any other child in the classroom and reacts in that fashion.

2. Suburban Teacher Perception

A persistent question which demanded some analysis focused around the problem of placing an educationally disabled inner city child with a suburban teacher whose experience emphasized the education of the above average child. Project Concern children on the basis of national norms were typically in the bottom fifth on measures of mental ability and achievement whereas the average suburban child in the towns involved was in the top fifth. Within this context how would suburban teachers react? The basis for determining such reactions was an anecdotal report submitted by each classroom teacher which was then coded by two independent raters along the dimensions mentioned below. The results follow:

	Superior	Fair	Poor
Attitude toward teachers	65%	26%	9%
Attitude toward suburban children	63%	25%	12%
Overall school adjustment	68%	24%	8%

The data indicate that suburban teachers generally rated the social development of Project youth as above average. This fact is the more impressive when these ratings are compared with the anecdotal records which

were available on the youngsters while they were attending inner city schools. The evidence strongly underlines the impact of environment upon behavior and behavior modification while it leaves unresolved the role of teacher expectation on pupil behavior. In any event, the overall teacher report is indicative of teacher acceptance of inner city youth and of these teachers' perception of inner city youth as being adaptable to the suburban school milieu.

3. After-School Involvement

In an effort to maximize the comprehensive participation of Hartford children in the suburban school setting, all such children were encouraged to take part in both formal (e.g., scouting, athletics, clubs) and informal (play at the school or at suburban homes) after school activities. In order to make this a realistic goal, late busses were made available at Project expense to transport the children back to Hartford. The program appears to have been a success with more than 65% of the youngsters taking part in regular after school activities. Although there was considerable variation from grade to grade (with higher participation in the upper grades), there was no grade where the level of participation fell below 40%.

B. ATTENDANCE FIGURES

Within the northend of Hartford children generally live only a short distance from their schools. In fact, most of the large low-cost housing projects are located within a block or two of a school (K-8). In contrast with this situation is the problem presented by bussing. The route each bus followed called for it to make eight stops over a five mile (somewhat circuitous in nature) span within the target area. The first stops were made at 7:30 a.m. and none of them provided shelter from rain or cold. In addition, many of the children had to cross several busy intersections to reach the bus stop. These factors, especially since they contrasted so dramatically with the regular inner city pattern, when combined with the fact that the bus demanded more precision in terms of arrival time all created a burden which was expected to decrease the attendance rate of Project children. This fear has been confirmed although the overall attendance still remains favorably comparable with elementary schools in Connecticut generally. The comparative absence figures are given below.

Table 6

Percentage of Days Absent

	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
Kdg.	9%	—	8%	10%
1	6%	—	10%	13%
2	5%	5%	20%	9%
3	6%	4%	10%	10%
4	8%	6%	12%	9%
5	5%	5%	7%	7%

As can be seen from this table the somewhat greater absentee rate of the experimental subjects is not so much a function of excessively great absence as it is of unusually high attendance among the control subjects. Quite in contrast with the usual expectation of irregular attendance in the "ghetto" area, these control children

are more consistent in their attendance than elementary school children generally in the State of Connecticut where the absentee rate is approximately 9%.

C. PERSONAL AND SCHOOL ANXIETY

Another fear associated with the initiation of Project Concern was that the tensions and stresses possible under such a program might have a negative impact upon the psychological development of the children. This is a complex question which does not lend itself easily to measurement techniques. Consequently, an approach was adopted which involves a methodology that has shown considerable promise in other settings, but no claim is made that this exhausts the areas of possible stress. The Test Anxiety Scale and the General Anxiety Scale used widely by Dr. Seymour Sarason and his associates in their studies of elementary school children are the bases for the evaluation of this question. Table 7 presents the results for the various groups on these two measures.

Study of this table shows that on these measures of anxiety related to school and to life in general the experimental youngsters do not have a tendency to score higher. (High scores indicate higher level anxiety.) Also, the pattern across grades is reasonably consistent. However, it should be noted that the scores for both experimental and control subjects on the Test Anxiety Scale are significantly higher than those reported by Sarason, et. al. for their suburban samples.

Table 7

Mean Scores on Anxiety Measures

		Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
*1	TASC	11.7	—	12.7	10.5
	GASC	28.7	—	24.0	27.3
2	TASC	9.8	11.3	9.7	11.5
	GASC	23.3	25.2	18.5	25.2
3	TASC	14.2	11.3	11.8	9.1
	GASC	27.7	25.8	24.0	22.7
4	TASC	11.3	12.3	16.2	11.5
	GASC	21.3	26.9	17.0	22.7
5	TASC	12.5	14.8	12.6	11.1
	GASC	27.5	31.0	23.8	22.8

*This test was not administered to the kindergarten youngsters.

In summary, the data available all point to the probability that placement in a suburban school has been a positive experience for the typical Project Concern child. The quantitative data reported here combined with the subjective reports of parents, teachers and principals suggest that there has been a movement toward greater personal investment in school, toward more favorable attitude about learning and teachers, and toward greater self-esteem. At the very least, there are no signs which would contra-indicate continuation of the Project or suggest that enrollment in a "ghetto" school is a more positive psychological experience than enrollment in a suburban school.

Chapter 6

THE SUBURBS — TWO YEARS LATER

Lord Almighty! Look at that beautiful pale sky! Do you feel the cool wind on your face? Listen to our voices here on the porch — not because they are mine or yours but because they are human voices.

JOYCE

When Project Concern was conceived the voices of dissent were vigorous and loud. There were many in the suburban communities who expressed fears, reservations or objections. This Chapter analyses some of these fears and reports on what appears to be a rather significant change in climate after two years. The areas surveyed are as follows:

a. The impact of Hartford children on suburban children's achievement
b. Suburban parental attitudes
c. Program expansion and public referenda

A. IMPACT OF PROJECT CONCERN CHILDREN ON THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF SUBURBAN CHILDREN

A major concern of a number of critics of urban-suburban bussing has been the fear that the placement of a limited number of inner city children who are educationally disadvantaged would result in a depression of the academic performance of the suburban children. The basis for this fear was the belief that these inner city children would take an inordinate amount of the teacher's time and, in this way, reduce her impact upon the other class members. Advocates of the program have argued that one or two learning problems in a class will stimulate growth by presenting a different challenge to the teacher which will result in innovation and increased stimulation.

In an attempt to answer this question two samples of youngsters in a suburban town were selected: 1) a sample of suburban youngsters who were in class with Project Concern children; 2) a sample of suburban youngsters in a similar grade who were *not* in class with Project Concern children. Each child in these two samples was used as his own control in that his achievement growth (as measured by the Composite Score on the *Iowa Test of Basic Skills*) for the year 1965-66 was compared with his growth for the year 1966-67. In the year 1965-66 no Project Concern children were in the school system. The two samples were drawn from six schools and growth rates for the two samples were compared.

	With Project Children	No Project Children
Growth greater in 1966-67	28%	24%
Growth the same in 1966-67	31%	30%
Growth less in 1966-67	41%	46%

The figures indicate that the trend is for children who were in class with Project Concern youngsters to do somewhat better than those who were not (although the difference is not significant statistically). This trend is found across five (5) of the six (6) schools involved. It certainly appears safe to conclude that there is no evidence to support the fear that suburban youngsters will suffer academically from the presence of inner city children; in fact, the available evidence is in the opposite direction.

B. SUBURBAN PARENTAL ATTITUDES

In order to reach a large number of suburban residents the technique of a mailed anonymous questionnaire was adopted. The survey was carried out in three towns. The name and address of the parents was chosen randomly from the records of the twenty schools in those three towns. The population of parents was divided into an experimental and a control group. Suburban parents whose children were in class with Hartford children were considered as the experimental group; parents whose children had no Project Concern children in their classes were the control group; approximately 700 questionnaires were mailed from which 313 (44%) were returned. The questionnaire contained items which called for a rating response and open ended questions for explanation.

1. *How Well Informed Are Suburban Parents About Project Concern?*

Table 8

How Well Informed According To Towns

	1	2	3	All Towns
Well Informed	93.8%	96.7%	94.7%	94.5%
Do Not Understand	5.2%	1.7%	1.8%	3.9%
Not Interested	1.0%	1.6%	3.5%	1.6%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8 illustrates the high percentage of reported understanding about Project Concern operations among parents in the three towns. Approximately 95% of the responses were: "I feel that I understand the Project reasonably well." The differences between towns relating to the above point are slight and not significant. It was expected that the experimental group of parents would be more informed about Project Concern than the control group. The findings did not confirm the above prediction.

Table 9

How Well Informed — Experimental vs. Control

	Experimental	Control	Both Groups
Well Informed	93.1%	96.7%	94.5%
Do Not Understand	5.3%	1.7%	3.9%
Not Interested	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

2. *General Reaction Toward Project Concern*

Table 10
General Reaction According To The Towns

	1	2	3	All Towns
Positive	41.2%	20.0%	40.4%	37.0%
Mixed Feelings	40.2%	46.7%	38.6%	41.2%
Negative	13.4%	31.7%	10.5%	16.4%
No Opinion	5.2%	1.6%	10.5%	5.4%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2 = 21.459$

Significant at the 0.002 level

Table 10 illustrates the following facts:

a. Only a minority of the parents classified their attitude toward Project Concern as a negative one. Most of the responses indicate a positive attitude or one of mixed feelings.

b. There is a significant difference between the towns in regard to attitudes toward Project Concern. Town number 2 shows a more antagonistic attitude toward the Project than towns number 1 and 3. As might be expected there is a relationship between the expression of attitude and the desire of bussed children to continue in the program. The highest percentage of children who want to continue is among those who are attending the schools in town 1 (83%); the percentage is lower among those who are attending schools in town 3 (61%); the smallest percentage of those who want to continue attending school is found in town 2 (57%).

The control and experimental parents have the same general reaction toward Project Concern. Differences are very slight and without statistical significance. The conclusion from this trend seems to be that the fact that bussed Hartford children are in the same class with the respondents' child has no impact on his attitude toward the program. Other socio-psychological factors apparently determine the attitude.

The reasons given by those who had a positive reaction were as follows: Most parents from Towns 1 and 3 who classified themselves as positive toward Project Concern stated that such integration will bring benefit to the white students themselves. The parents who have positive attitudes in Town 2 gave somewhat different reasons: The Negroes have a right to equal opportunity in education; or the Negroes deserve a better environment for learning.

Reasons given by those who had a negative reaction were: In towns 1 and 2 most of the parents claimed that education should take place in the neighborhood school and that Project Concern is not a solution

to the really crucial problems which it intends to solve. In Town 3 parents expressed the feeling that classes are too crowded as a reason for their objection.

Among those with mixed feelings the reasons expressed were basically these three: Project Concern cannot solve the crucial problems; education should take place in the neighborhood school; the local school system is overcrowded already.

3. *Relationship Between Project Concern Children and Suburban Children According to the Suburban Parents*

Both experimental and control parents were asked whether their child had mentioned the Hartford youngsters and whether they would approve of a close friendship between their youngster and a Hartford child. The experimental parents were asked three (3) more questions in the same area: Have you met any of the Hartford youngsters; kind of comments your child made of Hartford youngsters; does your child play at school with a Hartford youngster regularly?

Table 11

Suburban Youngsters Mentioning Hartford Youngsters in Their Homes

Frequent	Sometimes	Never	All
14.8%	64.5%	20.6%	100%

Table 11 indicates that most of the suburban youngsters mentioned Hartford youngsters from time to time, but not frequently. No significant differences have been found relating to this tendency illustrated by Table 11. It seems that this trend may illustrate the natural process of adjustment of Hartford youngsters in the suburban schools; an assumption which is supported by the following finding:

Table 12

Suburban Youngsters' Comments on Project Concern Youngsters

	1	2	3	All Towns
The Same as all Children	44.4%	25.9%	37.5%	39.0%
Positive Comments	30.6%	29.6%	45.8%	33.3%
Negative	25.0%	44.5%	16.7%	27.7%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 12 illustrates that only 27.7% of the parents (experimental) claimed that their children gave negative comments on Hartford youngsters; thirty-nine percent saw their children's comments on Hartford children as the same as for suburban classmates; thirty-three percent were reported as giving positive comments.

The differences between towns show that Town 2 again has a more negative attitude when compared with the two other towns: 44.5% of the children were reported as giving negative comments about Hartford children compared with 25% and 16.7% in the other towns.

Table 13
Met Hartford Youngsters

	1	2	3	All Towns
Yes	46.1%	18.9%	33.3%	38.3%
No	53.9%	81.1%	66.7%	61.7%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2 = 9.208$
Significant at the 0.01 level

Table 13 illustrates that most of the parents (experimental) did not meet any of the Hartford youngsters who are attending class with their youngster. The differences between towns which are reported in Tables 10 and 12 are seen again in Table 13. Parents from Town 2 report the smallest percentage of contact with a Hartford youngster (18.9% comparing with 46.1% in Town 1 and 33.3% in Town 3).

All parents were asked whether they approve of close friendship between their youngster and a Hartford child. The following distribution of responses was obtained:

Table 14
Approval of Close Relations

	1	2	3	All Towns
No Opinion	12.0%	5.1%	14.0%	11.0%
Approve	53.6%	37.3%	47.4%	49.4%
Disapprove	16.2%	28.8%	24.6%	20.1%
Uncertain	18.2%	28.8%	14.0%	19.5%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2 = 12.955$
Significant at the 0.05 level

Table 14 illustrates the same significant trend which has been illustrated in Tables 10, 12 and 13. Only 37.3% of parents from Town 2 will approve of a close relationship between their youngster and a Hartford child; 47.4% of parents in Town 3 favor such close friendships. The parents from Town 1 are the most likely to approve of friendship relations between their children and Hartford youngsters (53.6%).

Most of the parents who approve of close friendships with their children explained that it can benefit both groups of children. The reasoning given by those parents who disapprove of close friendship was as follows: parents from Towns 1 and 3 explained their objection mostly on the ground of lack of reciprocity between the two; they claimed that friendship between children at this age can be built only within the neighborhood. Most parents from Town 2 raised the argument that close friendship can lead to a bad influence of Hartford youngsters on their children.

4. *Attitude Toward The Continuation of Project Concern*

Each parent was asked: "How do you feel about the continuation of a program like Project Concern?" The majority of the total responses were in favor of the continuation of Project Concern (50.5%); 26.1% of the responses indicated an unclear decision (those parents were uncertain about this matter); only 23.5% claimed that they are not in favor of the continuation. As indicated in the above paragraphs, there is a significant difference in the expressed attitude between the towns.

Table 15

Attitude Toward Continuation

	1	2	3	All Towns
In Favor	53.4%	33.9%	57.9%	50.5%
Uncertain	27.2%	22.0%	26.3%	26.1%
Disapprove	19.4%	44.1%	15.8%	23.5%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2 = 18.100$

Significant at the 0.001 level

Table 15 illustrates a strong relationship between the town variable and attitude toward continuation. Town 3 expressed a slightly more favorable attitude than Town 1. Town 2, consistent with the same trend noted above, expressed a relatively high percentage of opposition toward continuation (44.1%). The reasons given by opponents are similar in all three towns. It is a mixture of the following: a) education should take place within the neighborhood (Town 1: 35.7%; Town 2: 38.9%; Town 3: 42.9%). b) Project Concern will not solve any basic problems (Town 1: 35.7%; Town 2: 11.1%; Town 3: 42.9%). c) Less than 7% of the opponents used overcrowding as their basic reason for objection.

A further analysis of attitude toward continuation as it is related to factors of: a) school; b) occupation; c) number of children of respondents; d) grade is reported below.

a. School

The differences of attitude toward continuation within the towns are larger than those we observed between the towns. In Town 1, the school with the largest opposition toward continuation of the program has only about 20% of parents who stated that they are in favor of continuation. In the same town the school which indicates the most favorable attitude reaches 75% of "in-favor responses." As illustrated in Table 8, 53.4% of responses are in favor in this particular town. In Town 2, the difference is between 20% in favor in the most negative school comparing with 55% in favor at the most positive school. In Town 3, the differences are not as significant as in the two other towns. In none of these schools did the percentage of "in favor" responses fall under 53%. The largest percentage in favor reaches 64% in one of those schools.

b. Occupation

The respondents were classified into six groups according to the nature of their occupation: 1. unskilled (0%); 2. semi-skilled (12%); 3. skilled (28%); 4. professional (31%); 5. businessman (8%); 6. housewife (21%). No statistically significant link between this variable (occupation) and the attitude toward continuation was found. Also, no significant relationship between these two variables (occupation of respondent and attitude toward continuation) was observed within each town separately. However, an important finding in this context is that the significant differences between towns in relation to attitude toward continuation (See Table 15), disappears when occupation is held constant. The meaning of this finding is that while occupation by itself is not statistically related to attitude toward continuation there appears to be an interaction between this variable and the town in regard to attitude toward continuation. This finding needs further analysis.

Some of the respondents did not give any information about their occupations. A further analysis illustrated that those parents showed a significantly more negative attitude toward continuation of Project Concern when compared with the major group which did indicate occupation.

Table 16

Information About Occupation — Continuation of Project Concern

	In Favor	Uncertain	Not In Favor
Occupation listed	52.4%	26.5%	21.1%
Not listed	32.0%	23.0%	45.0%
All	50.0%	26.0%	24.0%

$X^2 = 9.22$

Significant at the 0.01 level

c. Number of Children

Table 17
Number of Children Related to Views on Continuation

	Number of Children in Family					
	1	2	3	4	5+	All
In Favor	64.7%	51.9%	55.8%	38.7%	56.0%	51.4%
Uncertain	5.9%	31.2%	21.1%	38.7%	12.0%	26.1%
Disapprove	29.4%	16.9%	23.1%	22.6%	32.0%	22.5%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2 = 9.22$

Significant at the 0.01 level

Table 17 illustrates a significant link between the number of children one has and his attitude toward continuation. The trend is curvilinear. People are most in favor when they have only one child. There is a decline in the "in favor" attitude from two children through four. Those who have five children or more again show a higher percentage of "in favor" attitude.

d. Grade of Respondent's Child

The data collected indicates a statistically significant correlation between the grade and attitude of parent toward continuation. However, the trend is not consistent; in fact, it fluctuates up and down from grade to grade. It may be that this is an artifact of interacting variables.

C. PROGRAM EXPANSION AND PUBLIC REFERENDA

As stated before, the initiation of the program took place in spite of widespread objection. The disharmony in the community was considerable and most observers agreed that a popular plebiscite would have resulted in a defeat of the proposal. The Connecticut statutes clearly placed the responsibility for the decision with the local Board of Education. Nonetheless, a number of towns requested rulings from their legal officers as to the legality of an "advisory referendum" which would have no binding force, but would give the Board of Education the benefit of the town's opinion. In four towns the legal authorities declared that such a referendum would not be legal; in two others the decision was that, if no expense were involved (i.e., if the question were placed in an already scheduled ballot) it would be permissible, but not binding. As a result, two such "popular votes" have been held with results as follows:

Town	Question	% Voting	% Favor	% Opposed	Final Decision
Bolton	To Join	38%	40%	60%	Joined
Manchester	To Continue	35%	49%	51%	Continued

This illustrates the fact that even in a town which has had two years of successful experience in the program and where the local school authorities have gone on record as enthusiastically supportive, there remains much divergence of feeling within the town.

Yet in some ways these figures are misleading. The natural history of events seems to follow a rather determined sequence. There is the excited, turbulent period charged with emotion and attack; the predictions of dire results (and perhaps reprisals in the form of opposition to bond issues, etc.) may accompany the courageous decision of the school authorities to move ahead. Then comes a period of watchful waiting coupled with a sense of surprise when the largest problems turn out to be logistical (how to get the busses to be at different places at the same time, for example). When the question is again formally before the Board of Education to decide upon continuation it now evokes limited interest. When in the beginning 2,000 tax payers may have turned out for a meeting only 25 to 50 come and statements are simple, to the point, and without vindictiveness.

This simplified and generalized account in no way conveys the tremendous pressures which are exerted in the midst of the controversy nor the remarkable sources of support which are sometimes rallied. These will probably vary from town to town, but it seems safe to infer that at least some elements of the "power structure" must encourage participation if there is to be substance to the proposal. The alignment of the liberal "civil rights" groups or those commonly dismissed as "do-gooders" is essential, but not sufficient in itself.

This change in attitude is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the program growth. As the 1968-69 school year approaches fourteen Hartford area towns have agreed to accept 950 youngsters, Hartford will itself place 200 youngsters in its previously all white schools, and the private or parochial schools will take another 200 into their classrooms. The decisions have been made much more easily in the light of the two years' experience although it appears that this experience has some definite geographic limitations. A similar program will begin in the New Haven, Connecticut area in September, 1968, and in the public hearings around New Haven there is a second edition of the original Hartford area hearings. The intensity and division is clear in these meetings even though New Haven is only 40 miles away. Again, however, the program is being adopted and nine (9) towns have committed themselves to taking about 250 New Haven "ghetto" youngsters.

Chapter 7

A LOOK AT THE DROPOUTS

Let me not wander in a barren dream,
But, when I am consumed in the fire,
Give me new Phoenix winds to fly at my desire.

KEATS

Project Concern has never been perceived by its administrators as a panacea. It has been viewed as an educational intervention with definitive promise for the typical youngster who has not generally responded to the stimulation of the "ghetto" school. Within this hope and expectation there has been a realistic assumption that some children chosen in the random selection would have negative reactions to the experience. In fact, it has been assumed that this negative reaction would be two-sided: on the one hand, some parents and children would decide that this experience was not for them; on the other hand, the administration of the program in consultation with the suburban school system would also decide that suburban school placement was not the treatment of choice for some youngsters. This chapter is a study of these two groups of dropouts who, over a two year period, make up approximately 10% of the original sample. Youngsters who left the program because they moved from the inner city area make up a third group of "dropouts" but these have not been followed up and are not included in this study.

This chapter is based upon a series of interviews conducted with the 26 children and their parents who fall into the two groups of "dropouts" described above. The interviews were conducted by a young male Negro not otherwise connected with the Project. The children were interviewed in their current (i.e., city) school placement except that four youngsters (kindergarteners) were not interviewed because of age. The parent (or parents) of all 26 were interviewed in their homes. This constitutes the total population of "dropouts" in these two categories during the two-year period. The breakdown as to the category is as follows:

		Children	Parents
Group I	(Withdrawn by own initiative)	14 (12 interviewed)	14
Group II	(Withdrawn by Project)	12 (10 interviewed)	12

The major foci of the interviews were these questions:

a. Why were the children removed (Group I only)?
b. What is the feeling of children and parents about Project Concern?
c. How would the children and parents feel about re-joining the program?
d. What are the feelings of the parents and children about suburban schools, teachers, and children?
e. What were the problems of readjustment in returning to the inner city school?

A. REASONS FOR "DROPPING OUT"

Parents were asked in the interview to indicate whether the initiative for withdrawal came from them or from the child. In response to the query the breakdown was as follows: 60% parental initiative; 40% child initiative. In a more specific question they were asked to indicate the basic reason for withdrawal. The answers were:

34% — child not happy in the suburban school

20% — child involved in too many fights

13% — transportation difficulties

33% — other reasons

In light of the small number (14) involved and the variety of reasons presented, it would seem that no major area of concern was voiced but rather a number of personal issues disrupted the experience for these families.

B. ATTITUDE TOWARD BEING BUSSED

All the children who were interviewed were asked: "how did you like going to school in the suburbs?" As expected, most of the responses were negative. Seventy percent of the responses indicated that they liked it less than their present school. But there was an interesting difference between the children who were taken out by the Project and those who left on their parents' or their own initiative.

Table 18

Children's Liking School in Suburb Related to Cause for Leaving

	Liked Suburban School	
	More or the Same	Less
Left on Own Initiative	15%	85%
Left on Project Initiative	50%	50%
All	30%	70%

Table 18 illustrates that while only 15% of the children whose cause for leaving depended on their parents' or their own decision liked it more or the same as their present school, 50% of the children who were taken out by the Project liked it more or the same.

The response of the parents to a similar question: "Do you think that your child was happy going to the suburban school?" shows a different trend:

Table 19
Children's Liking School in Suburb (Parents' Answers)

	Liked Suburban School	
	More or the Same	Less
Left on Own Initiative	53%	47%
Left on Project Initiative	55%	45%
All	54%	46%

Table 19 illustrates that the parents tended to evaluate their children as liking being bussed to a higher degree than was the children's response to a similar question. Also of interest is the fact that the parent groups are essentially the same on this question while the children clearly differ across the two groups.

C. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE IDEA OF REJOINING PROJECT CONCERN

Table 20
Children Want to Return to Suburban School

	Yes, or Yes under Conditions	No
Left on Own Initiative	30%	70%
Left on Project Initiative	50%	50%
All	39%	61%

The distribution in Table 20 shows a trend similar to that observed in Table 18. Most of the children do not want to return (61%). But a striking difference again exists between the groups divided on the basis of cause for leaving: only 30% of those who left on their own initiative are ready to return with or without condition compared to 50% who want to return from the group of children who were withdrawn by the Project.

Table 21
Parents Want Their Children to Return

	Yes, or Yes under Conditions	No
Left on Own Initiative	40%	60%
Left on Project Initiative	55%	45%
All	46%	54%

Most of the parents (54%) do not want their children to return to Project Concern. Again there is a noticeable difference between the two groups of parents; parents of the children who were withdrawn from the Program by the Project are more likely to want their children back in the program (55% compared with 40% of parents from the other group). It also appears that the percentage of parents from both groups (46%) who would like to see their children rejoining Project Concern is rather high.

Table 22

Parents Want Their Other Children to Join the Bussing Program

The parents were also asked about their other children: "Would you want other children of yours to be bussed to a suburban school?" These were the answers:

	Yes, or Yes under Conditions	No
Left on Own Initiative	27%	73%
Left on Project Initiative	55%	45%
All	42%	58%

Table 22 shows that the parents of the children who have been withdrawn by the Project have the same attitude toward the idea of other children joining as they had toward having a child rejoin the program (55% in both cases). On the other hand, the parents of the children from the other group show a higher rate of negative attitude toward the idea of their other children joining Project Concern compared to their attitude toward the return of those who had left.

Another question seemed relevant to this area. What was the extent of agreement between children and parents about returning? When both children and parent responded in the same fashion, this was considered agreement; when the response differed between the two, this was considered disagreement.

Table 23

Parent-Child Agreement About Wanting to Return

	Agree	Disagree
Left on Own Initiative	77%	23%
Left on Project Initiative	20%	80%
All	52%	48%

$X^2 = 5.11$

Significant at the .05 level (using Yates' Correction for Continuity)

Table 23 illustrates a surprising trend. The amount of agreement between parents and children in Group 1 (left by their own initiative) reaches 77%; on the other hand the percentage of agreement between parents and children about returning in Group II (taken out by Project) is very low (only 20%).

D. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SUBURBAN SCHOOL

Three questions were asked to study the dropout children's and their parents' attitude toward the suburban school:

1. How was he or she treated by suburban classmates?
2. How much did he or she like his/her suburban teacher?
3. Where did he/she learn more?

Table 24
Feeling of Children About Classmates' Attitude

	Friendly; Treated Same as Others	Unfriendly
Left on Own Initiative	38%	62%
Left on Project Initiative	70%	30%
All	52%	48%

Table 24 shows that the group of children who were withdrawn by the Project report fair and friendly treatment by their suburban classmates to a much higher degree than the other group (70% to 38%). A similar trend was seen in Table 20 (attitude toward returning).

Table 25
Children's Attitude Toward Teachers

	As compared to Urban Teachers, Liked Suburban Teachers		
	Better	Same	Less
Left on Own Initiative	15%	77%	8%
Left on Project Initiative	10%	60%	30%
All	13%	69%	18%

Table 25 illustrates a similar attitude among the two groups of children. In both groups the majority feel that they like the suburban teachers whom they had while being bussed as well or better than other teachers. In fact, it is interesting that children withdrawn by the Project seem somewhat more inclined to rate the suburban teacher lower.

Table 26
Where Children Reported Learning More

	Suburb	Hartford	Same
Left on Own Initiative	23%	47%	30%
Left on Project Initiative	80%	10%	10%
All	48%	31%	21%

$X^2 = 7.27$

Significant at the .05 level

Table 26 indicates a significant difference between the two groups of children related to their evaluation of how much they gained academically in the suburban school. Ninety percent of the children who have been dropped by the Project report that they learned more or at least the same (10%) in the suburb. In the other category of children, only 23% report gaining more academically in the suburb (compared with 47% who report gaining less).

Table 27
Where Parents Felt Children Learned More

	Suburb	Hartford	Same
Left on Own Initiative	20%	20%	60%
Left on Project Initiative	36%	19%	45%
All	27%	19%	54%

Table 27 illustrates that the differences between the two categories of parents are slight, compared with the difference observed in Table 26. The majority of parents in both groups feel that their children have learned about the same in both places. This finding is interesting in that some people suspected that the parents might tend to see the suburban school as less adequate to their children's needs. In order to assess further the feeling of the parents toward Project Concern, they were asked the following question: "What are your feelings about the bussing project?"

Table 28
Parents' General Attitude Toward Project Concern

	In Favor	Not in Favor
Left on Own Initiative	46%	54%
Left on Project Initiative	70%	30%
All	54%	46%

Table 28 indicates that a slight majority of the parents of the dropout children are still in favor of Project Concern. Further analysis shows some differences between the two groups of parents. While a significant majority (70%) of parents from Group II (withdrawn by Project) are in favor of Project Concern, slightly less than half (46%) of the other group of parents are in favor. Nonetheless, the general attitude even of parents who have had some negative experience with the program remains positive.

E. HOME AND NEIGHBORHOOD ENVIRONMENT

Other analyses have indicated that the impact of being bussed on the children who are still in the program does not have negative implications for their relations in the home or in the neighborhood environment. Is the same true for the children who have been bussed and have later left the program? The findings again show no negative impact on the children who left the bussing program.

Table 29

How Children Felt They Were Treated by Siblings

Nicer	Same as Always	Worse
10%	85%	5%

Table 29 indicates no significant change, positive or negative.

All parents, without any exception (100%), responded to the question: "Did bussing change the way in which your child got along with the other children in the neighborhood?" The unanimous response was a negative one: There was no change which they related to the fact of bussing.

Eighty-eight percent of the children responded that their relations with their friends in the neighborhood remained the same (while being bussed); 4% indicated that they were treated even nicer; 4% answered that they did not have enough time for playing with friends while being bussed; and 4% felt that relations with friends became worse.

Ninety-two percent of the children claimed that they did not have any difficulty in readjustment in the Hartford schools upon return. Only 8% indicated in their responses some amount of difficulty in readjustment.

SUMMARY

The overall impression from this glimpse of the "dropouts" from Project Concern is a relatively favorable one. Perhaps most striking is the generally favorable reaction of the children who were withdrawn by the Project and of their parents. These findings confirm the general impression of support which has been felt by Project authorities from the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. At the same time even the benign feeling of those who left at their own initiative appears as further confirmation that there has been little, if any, evidence of negative psychological impact from participation — even among those who have not had a sense of success.

Chapter 8

OPERATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

The poet and the dreamer are distinct,
Diverse, sheer opposite, antipodes.
The one pours out a balm upon the world,
The other vexes it.

KEATS

Clearly the implementation and operation of Project Concern has been accomplished not only through the efforts of people but also through resources and structures. In extremely brief fashion, this Chapter will summarize some of these which may be of interest to readers.

A. SOURCE OF FUNDS

During the two-year experimental phase (1966-68) funding was sought and received from several sources. These are indicated below along with the amount of funds. It should be emphasized that the Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act monies were transferred from the regular Hartford allocation.

	1966-67	1967-68
Title IV, Civil Rights Act	122,700	79,000
Title I, Elem. & Sec. Act	165,000	165,000
Title III, Elem. & Sec. Act	90,000	122,000
City of Hartford	70,000	70,000
Ford Foundation	—	50,000

This pattern of support is changing dramatically as the program becomes fully operational. In the 1968-69 academic year federal support from Titles I and III, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, will account for approximately 33% of the Project budget, Public Act 611 passed by the 1967 Connecticut General Assembly for programs like Project Concern will provide 22% of the budget, and the City of Hartford will provide the remaining 45% (approximately $345,000).

B. PER PUPIL COSTS

The per pupil costs for 1967-68 are illustrated below. The total cost per pupil was $1,473.

Operating Costs:

Tuition	$610.00	Administration	$ 39.00
Supportive Teacher	312.00	Secretarial Salaries	20.00
Supportive Aide	127.00	Lunches	42.00
Social Services	72.00	Transportation	251.00

C. SOCIAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES

A part of the Project program social work services were made available on a need basis to cope with any social or emotional problems which arose. The following breakdown of casework involvement describes the service by 1967-68.

No Involvement	Excessive Absence	Poor Academic Performance	Behavioral Problem
58.5%	7.6%	13.8%	20.1%

The intensity of the involvement varied considerably, but the typical referral in the three categories above was seen on the average as follows:

Absence	Academic Performance	Behavior
4.9 visits	9.6 visits	14.1 visits

In addition, a number of youngsters, particularly those classified as having behavior problems, were referred to other agencies for assistance.

Chapter 9

SUMMARY

For faith and philosophy are air, but events are brass. Admidst his gray philosophizing, life breaks upon a man like a morning.

MELVILLE

On the basis of the data contained in this Report a number of conclusions appear justified. At the same time, it is important to recognize that a more analytical report will follow which may clarify some of the issues raised here. Nonetheless, the following seem to be reasonably conservative statements that flow from the present analysis:

1. Inner city children are clearly at a disadvantage in terms of school expectations as they enter kindergarten and in this study Headstart experience appears to make little difference.

2. Youngsters placed in suburban classrooms at grades K-3 have a significantly greater tendency to show growth in mental ability scores than those remaining in inner city classrooms. This growth, over a two-year period, results in mental ability scores that are distributed in close approximation to the national distribution whereas the early testing resulted in a depressed distribution with limited range.

3. There is no evidence that special supportive assistance is an effective intervention within the inner city schools.

4. Suburban placement combined with special supportive assistance is a more effective intervention than is suburban placement by itself.

5. Measures of reading readiness, reading ability and mathematical ability show a pattern similar to that reported in items 2-4 above.

6. Most of the children involved in the suburban placement express a liking for the program and a desire to continue.

7. There appear to be no negative psychological or social consequences stemming from participation for the inner city youngsters.

8. The inner city youngsters placed in suburban schools seem to have a sense of "belonging" and take part in activities like other children in the school.

9. Suburban children appear to accept inner city children on face value.

10. Experience with the program seems to decrease the feelings of antagonism among suburban residents and, in fact, most parents with children in school with Project children report that they support the program.

11. There is no evidence that placement in a suburban school results in greater tensions or anxieties. In fact, what evidence exists suggests the opposite.

12. Placement of two or three inner city children in a suburban classroom has no measurable negative effect on the academic achievement of the suburban children.

13. Although the attendance rate for inner city children placed in suburban schools is somewhat lower than that of inner city children in inner city schools it is still average for elementary school children in Connecticut.

14. Dropouts from the program have been relatively few and the attitude toward the program even among these children and their parents remains basically positive.

Chapter 10

THE COURAGE TO DREAM — A PERSONAL POSTSCRIPT

But I, being poor, have only my dreams;
I have spread my dreams under your feet;
Tread softly, because you tread on my dreams.

YEATS

After two years with Project Concern — from the days of turmoil and tension as it struggled toward reality to the present stage of comparative success — a number of impressions and feelings demand expression. To have watched the eagerness of the children, to have seen their anxiety shade into an increased self-confidence, to have experienced the intense desire of the parents for something better for their children was an unspeakable opportunity. Yet beyond this there has been the ever-increasing awareness of the burdens which these children and their families carry — burdens which are so easy to ignore because they are closed behind the geography of the ghettoes and are so easily dismissed by a logic that worships the status quo. These burdens are real — and they are unnecessary. The next few paragraphs are an effort to share some thoughts about the things that might be done to relieve this situation.

First among these is the need to recognize the very real disadvantage which the child from the inner city carries with him as he goes through the school sequence. Subject to the same compulsory education law he finds himself cut off from success. The State has come to recognize its responsibility for attempting to equalize opportunity for other groups of disadvantaged youth (mentally retarded; emotionally disturbed; perceptually handicapped; blind; etc.) where the deficit is not directly a consequence of the society; for the culturally different child disabled as a learner because of society it has done little more than increase the financial resources for doing more of the same. The time has come to move beyond debate and words; now is the time for action. This action should include dramatic support of programs of demonstrated viability such as Project Concern as well as exploration of new and more effective techniques. There is no place now for argument over priorities; there is no time for sentimentality or recrimination. The task is one that calls for hard-headedness and soft-heartedness, for financial investment and determined risk-taking.

1. It is essential for the General Assembly to augment the provision of Public Act 611 in two directions. On the one hand, a school building subsidy *must* be enacted so that suburban communities will construct facilities that exceed immediate space needs. Secondly, legislation which provides State support for the excess cost of the program is urgently needed. The City of Hartford can be expected to invest its usual per pupil expenditure, but the tradition of direct State responsibility for special education must be invoked here.
2. Even stronger identification with the Negro community seems to me a necessity. Toward this goal I would make the following suggestions:

   a. Maintain the central office in the northend of Hartford.

b. Add three parents, one from each of the three major housing areas, to the Advisory Board of Project Concern.
c. Establish a liaison committee with membership of each of the more prominent Negro organizations including those which may not have strict formal structure.
d. Continue the process of random selection of youngsters for participation in the program.
e. Establish within the central office a program of services for other youngsters who are not in Project Concern and, in effect, undertake the advocate role for youngsters experiencing difficulty in the public schools in the city.

3. Avoid the seduction of concentrating only on the primary grades — at least until such time as the effectiveness of integrated middle schools has been established. Although the initial evidence would suggest the greatest impact in terms of achievement and mental ability is found in the lower grades, this is counterbalanced by a number of other factors at the upper grades. Among these are the stated preference of the upper grade students for suburban placement, high level of participation in extra curricular activities of these upper grade children, and the very favorable teacher perception of the growth of these youngsters even though it may not be reflected in our standardized tests. The continuation of youngsters in the upper grades will in no way affect the number of available seats in the lower grades and any decision made in the face of these facts should itself be based upon careful research and analysis.

4. The concept of the supportive team should be carefully studied and re-evaluated. My own personal impression is that the para-professional aide is a critical person in the success of the program, but it may well be that the ratio of children to aide can be increased to something like 50 to 1 after the first year of operation of the program. In similar fashion, with increasing emphasis on the early grades and with youngsters continuing in the town schools over a numbers of years, the need for the supportive teacher in the present ratio and framework seems doubtful. Some reduction in this area will be necessary to make the program an economically feasible one on a large scale.

5. A number of areas of further research should be vigorously pursued. These include:
   a. An attempt to determine the characteristics of successful versus non-successful participants.
   b. An attempt to determine the characteristics of those youngsters who achieve academic success within the city.
   c. A study of the impact of participation in the project on the achievement of siblings.
   d. A more detailed and careful analysis of those variables in a school and/or teaching situation which seem correlated with success.

6. A final recommendation is added here somewhat tentatively. The major burden of the evidence in the project seems to underline the need for us to question and attack two of the most cherished myths in education: the neighborhood school and homogeneous grouping. Both of these procedures lend themselves easily to the maintenance of an undesirable status quo. The folklore surrounding these two concepts should be carefully reviewed, honestly examined, and alternatives sincerely considered.

The final conclusion must be that these youngsters have demonstrated their ability to respond and to learn; the question which remains concerns our ability to provide the opportunity and reason for such response.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE CONTRACT

Agreement entered into this day of , 196 by and between the Board of Education of the City of Hartford, acting herein by , its President, and the Board of Education of the Town of , acting herein by , its

Witness that whereas the Connecticut State Board of Education has submitted a plan and proposal for "bussing" children from Hartford elementary schools to schools located in certain suburban communities as more particularly set out in "A Proposal to Plan and Study School Programs for Children Involved in a Regional Desegregation Plan," and which is specifically made a part of this Agreement; and

Whereas the Board of Education of the City of Hartford and the Board of Education of the Town of are desirous of co-operating in Project Concern and placing said plan into effect for the school years 1966-1967 and 1967-1968;

Now, therefore, in consideration of the promises and agreements hereinafter contained the Board of Education of the City of Hartford and the Board of Education of the Town of agree to the enrollment of children from said Hartford in the school system of said Town of for the school years 196 -6 and subject to the following specific conditions:

1. Participating boards of education are in no way committed to the plan or any contractual arrangements beyond the 196 -6 school year.
2. Participation in the Project Concern by co-operating boards of education in no way indicates an official interest in a regional or metropolitan education system.
3. The right to withdraw from Project Concern is a privilege maintained by each participating board of education. Intention of withdrawal must be presented to the Connecticut State Department of Education thirty days prior to the actual date of withdrawal.
4. Each participating board of education reserves the right to withdraw from the program any student who, in the judgment of its Superintendent of Schools, poses a severe problem which cannot be solved in any other way.
5. The City of Hartford reserves the right to retain in its schools pupils who are not educationally suited for this particular project.
6. If white pupils are identified in the random procedures used in the selection process, these pupils will participate in Project Concern.

7. In no instance will the addition of Hartford pupils cause a board of education of any participating community to exceed the number stated in its policy on class size.

8. A parent or guardian of "transported" children from the City of Hartford must give written permission allowing their children to participate in the project.

9. Children participating in the project shall be the same children during the 196 -6 school year and will be enrolled in Grades one through six with the same classes wherever possible.

10. The testing program for participating children shall be kept as normal as possible and all testing procedures shall be cleared by the superintendents of schools of the participating communities.

11. Arrangements will be made in the transportation of project children to insure that an excessive amount of time is not spent in this activity on the part of teachers and administrators in the suburban communities.

12. Sufficient buses shall be provided to insure that travel time is made as efficient and effective as possible.

13. Bussing of suburban pupils under this plan will not be allowed under any circumstances.

14. Administrative services to operate the activities of the project must be sufficient and be paid from project funds.

15. No member of the supportive team will provide services to any community without the consent of the board of education of the town involved.

16. Members of the "supportive team" will be under the jurisdiction of the boards of education of the cities and towns they serve.

17. Each "receiving" suburban town will receive a cost-per-pupil grant or tuition for each pupil transported from Hartford. Cost-per-pupil grant or tuition is defined as follows:

    "It is the amount secured when the estimated number of elementary-school children who will be attending the elementary schools of a particular town during the 196 -6 school year is divided into the amount budgeted for the elementary schools of that town for the 196 -6 school year."

    "Furthermore, in instances where kindergartens are operated on a one-half day basis, the cost-per-pupil grant or tuition cost will be one-half of that provided for an elementary school child."

This definition is further clarified by the following factors:

a. A contingency figure of 5% will be added to average estimated costs to insure that true actual per-pupil or tuition costs are achieved.

b. Special costs for "special classes" where reimbursement is enlarged by the State "Handicapped Children's Statute" will not be included in the amount budgeted by a local town for the 196 -6 school year.

c. Transportation costs will not be included in the amount budgeted by a local town for the 196 -6 school year as the transportation costs for project students will be paid by the City of Hartford.

d. Bonding costs (principal and interest) will not be included in the amount budgeted by the local town for the 196 -6 school year as "vacant spaces" was the basis for determining the number of project students and State grants for buildings are being paid to the "receiving" suburban town. The formula for this concept would be as follows:

Amount budgeted by a town for its elementary school children in grades K-6 for the 196 -6 school year, less special costs for handicapped classes, less transportation, less payments on building bond issues (principal and interest), divided by the number of elementary school children enrolled in grades K-6 in said school system on October 1, 19 , plus a 5% contingency, equals the per pupil or tuition charge for project children in any one town. In instances where a one-half day session is being provided, a one-half the per-pupil or tuition charge will be made. The amount of tuition to be paid to a participating town will be based on the number of Hartford elementary students enrolled in said participating town's school system as of October 1, 196 . The first of two equal payments will be due on October 15, 196 and the second payment will be due on January 30, 196 .

In witness whereof, the parties have hereunto caused to be set their hands and seals the day and year above mentioned.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF HARTFORD

By _____
Its President.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE TOWN OF

By _____
Its

APPENDIX B

SUBURBAN TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Teacher Name _____ Town _____
School _____ Grade _____
No. of Hartford children in class _____

1. How long have you been teaching in a class which includes Hartford children?
   _____ Two years (1966-67; 1967-68)
   _____ One year (1967-68)
   _____ Less than a year

2. Rate the level of growth of Hartford children while in your class.

	Reading	Lang. Arts	Math	Social Adj.
Child	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3
Superior				
Average				
Poor				

Comment (if any):

3. Do you feel that the Hartford children had an influence upon the suburban children in your class?
   _____ No.
   _____ Yes. If yes, please specify _____

4. Do you favor continuation of the program?
   _____ Yes. Please explain _____
   _____ No. Please explain _____
   _____ Uncertain. Please explain _____

5. How do you feel that the program could be improved? _____

6. Comments or general reactions _____

APPENDIX C

SUBURBAN PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Town _____

School _____ Grade of child with Htfd. classmates_____

Occupation _____ _____ No. of children _____

1. Do you feel well informed about Project Concern?
   _____ I feel that I understand the Project reasonably well.
   _____ I feel that I do not understand the Project.
   _____ I am not interested in the Project.
2. What is your general reaction to Project Concern?
   _____ I have no basis for an opinion.
   _____ I have positive feelings toward the Project.
   _____ I have mixed feelings about the Project.
   _____ I have negative feelings about the Project.
3. Please indicate below your reasons for feeling the way you do.
   _____
   _____
   _____
4. Does your child mention the Hartford youngsters?
   _____ Frequently _____ Occasionally _____ Never
5. Have you met any of the Hartford youngsters?
   _____ Yes _____ No
6. Please give details as to kind of comments your child makes.
   _____
   _____
   _____
7. Does your child play at school with a Hartford youngster regularly?
   _____ Yes _____ No _____ I do not know
8. Do you approve of a close friendship between your youngster and a Hartford child (e.g., occasional weekend visits; lunches)?
   _____ No opinion
   _____ Approve (please elaborate) _____
   _____
   _____ Disapprove (please elaborate) _____
   _____
   _____ Uncertain (please elaborate) _____
   _____
9. How do you feel about the continuation of a program like *Project Concern?*
   _____ In favor (please give reasons) _____
   _____
   _____ Uncertain (please give reason) _____
   _____
   _____ Not in favor (please give reasons) _____
   _____

If there are any other comments or reactions which you would like to share with the researchers, please feel free to mention them below.

_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX D

PUPIL INTERVIEW FORM

Name _____ School _____

Grade _____ With whom living _____

Siblings _____ Former School _____

Father's Occupation _____ Mother's Occupation _____

1. How do you like being bussed to _____ _____ (suburban) school?
   _____ Like it better than going to Hartford school.
   _____ Would rather go to school in Hartford.
   _____ Doesn't make any difference.

2. How do your brothers and sisters feel about your going to school in _____ (suburb)?
   _____ Treat me the same as ever.
   _____ They like the idea and are interested.
   _____ They fight and argue more with me because of it.
   _____ No brothers or sisters.

3. How do your friends in the neighborhood feel about your going to school in _____ (suburb)?
   _____ Makes no difference to them.
   _____ They are interested in my school.
   _____ They seem to pick on me more.
   _____ I don't play with them as much.

4. How do you like your teacher in _____ _____ (suburban) school?
   _____ More than most teachers I had.
   _____ Less than most teachers I had.
   _____ Same as most.

5. How do the other children in your class treat you?
   _____ Just like all the other children.
   _____ Differently (specify) _____
   _____
   _____

6. Do you want to continue going to school in _____ (suburb)?
   _____ Yes
   _____ No (if no, why) _____
   _____

7. Do you think it would be good for your brothers and sisters to go to school in the suburbs?
   _____ Yes
   _____ No
   Why: _____
   _____

8. Where do you think that you have learned more:
   _____ in _____ (suburban) school.
   _____ in Hartford school.
   Why: _____
   _____

9. How do you think your parent(s) feel about your school?
   _____ Want me to continue.
   _____ Wish I were in Hartford school.
   _____ Don't care.

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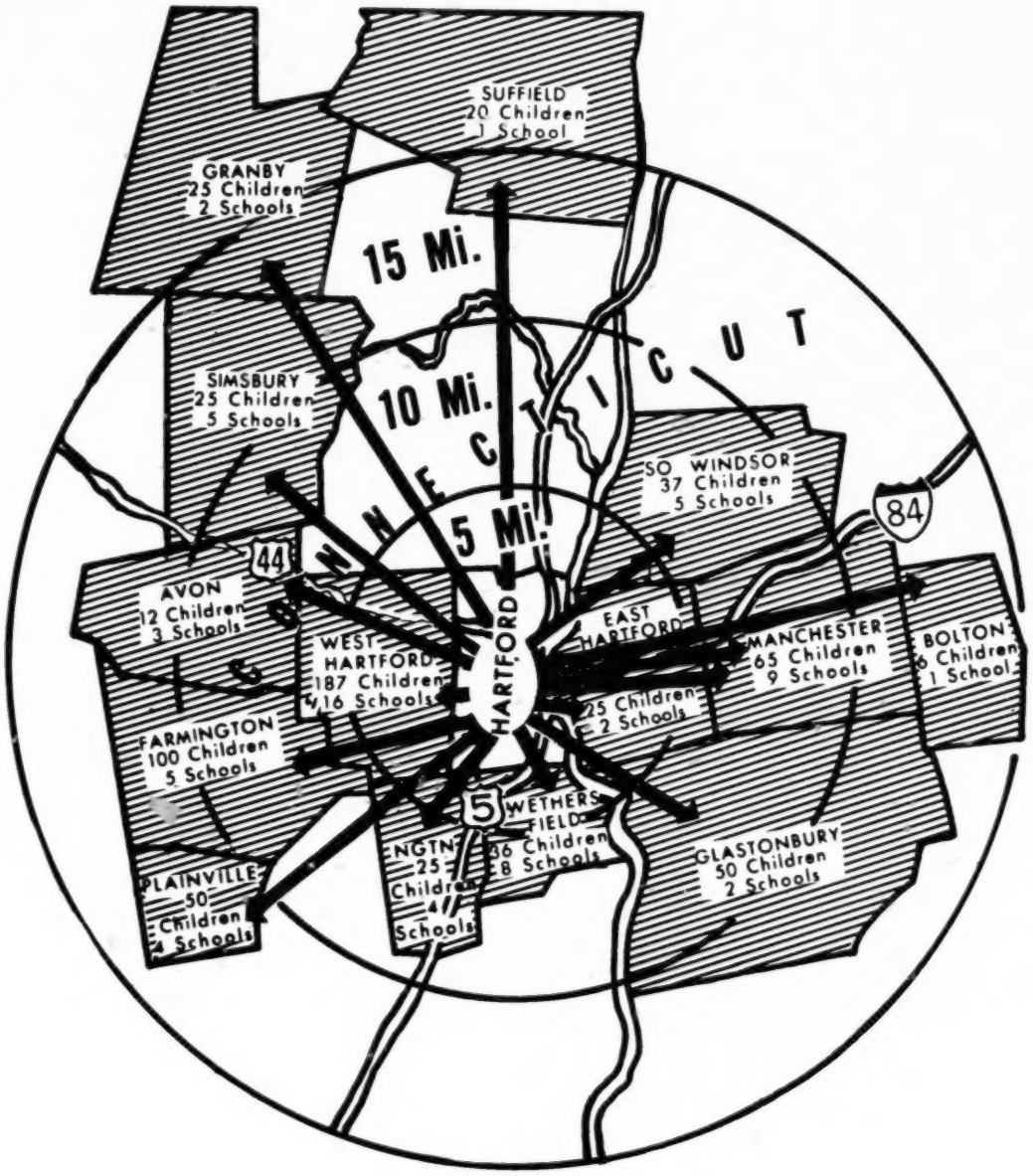

TODAY

BUSES TO 86 SCHOOLS

75 Public

9 Parochial

2 Independent

In Hartford and 15 Surrounding Towns